

JPRS 83493

18 May 1983

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2142

**FBIS** FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

#### NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

#### PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

18 May 1983

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2142

## CONTENTS

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Romanian-Czechoslovak Posts, Telecommunications Agreement<br>(BULETINUL OFICIAL, 10 Mar 83) .....                              | 1  |
| Hungarian-Romanian Controversy, Chronology, Critique<br>(Gerhard Sewann, Kathrin Sitzler; SUEDEST-EUROPA,<br>No 1, 1983) ..... | 7  |
| Briefs   |    |
| GDR Army Day .....   | 31 |

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Minister Obzina Discusses February 1948<br>(Jaromir Obzina; ZIVOT STRANY, 14 Feb 83) .....  | 32 |
| WFTU Involved in Peace Movement Efforts<br>(Viliam Kozik Interview; PRACE, 21 Apr 83) ..... | 39 |

## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Civil Defense, Red Cross Efforts Over 25 Years Reviewed<br>(D. Letz; ZEITSCHRIFT FUER MILITAERMEDIZIN, Feb 83) ..... | 43 |
|--|----|

## HUNGARY

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Seeking the Limits of Economic, Political, Social Reform<br>(DIE TAGESZEITUNG, 13 Apr 83) ..... | 47 |
| Limits of Hungarian Model<br>Political Solution?, by Witsch<br>The Opposition                   |    |
| Hungarian Minorities Demand Equal Rights<br>(PROFIL, 11 Apr 83) .....                           | 54 |

## POLAND

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Szczecin PZPR Head Speaks on Worker-Party Relations<br>(Stanislaw Miskiewicz Interview; ZYCIE PARTII, 2 Mar 83)  | 57  |
| Opole Province Party Activities Reported<br>(TRYBUNA OPOLSKA, various dates) .....   | 65  |
| Cadre Party Policy<br>Plenary Session on Residential Construction,<br>by Andrzej Mach<br>Debates at Plenary Session on Construction<br>Secretary Andrzej Walczak's Report<br>Delegates' Discussions at Plenary Session,<br>by Norbert Lysek<br>Secretary Manfred Gorywoda's Speech |     |
| General Condemns Western Arms Buildup<br>(Czeslaw Dega Interview; TRYBUNA LUDU, 29 Apr 83) .....   | 88  |
| Figures on Alcoholism, Drug Addiction Cited<br>(Maria Czesninowa; SLUZBA ZDROWIA, 27 Mar 83) .....   | 90  |
| Army Weekly Interviews Politburo Member Kalkus<br>(Stanislaw Kalkus Interview; ZOLNIERZ POLSKI, 20 Feb 83)   | 94  |
| PZPR Commission Debates Ways To Increase Influence in Plants<br>(Tadeusz Koladziejczyk; ZYCIE PARTII, 30 Mar 83) .....   | 99  |
| Blue Collar Workers Speak at National Conference<br>(TRYBUNA LUDU, 31 Mar 83) .....  | 103 |
| Results of Surveys on Worker Attitudes Examined<br>(Leszek Gilejko, Przemyslaw Wojcik; PRAWO I ZYCIE,<br>2 Apr 83) .....   | 127 |

## ROMANIA

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Report on the National Council of People's Councils Chairmen<br>(BULETINUL OFICIAL, 21 Feb 83) ..... | 134 |
|--|-----|

## YUGOSLAVIA

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Tadic, Neo-Leftists Attacked for Questioning Legitimacy of LCY<br>(Fuad Muhic, Ljubomir Tadic; BORBA, various dates) ..... | 139 |
|--|-----|



ROMANIAN-CZECHOSLOVAK POSTS, TELECOMMUNICATIONS AGREEMENT

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 14, 10 Mar 83 pp 2-4

[Agreement Between the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic on Collaboration in the Field of Mail and Telecommunications]

[Text] The government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, called below "contracting parties," animated by the desire to promote the development of the political, economic and cultural relations between the two countries in the future, taking into account the fact that the expansion and deepening of the collaboration in the field of mail and telecommunications will serve this purpose, have decided to conclude the present agreement, by means of which they agree on the following:

I. General Provisions

Article 1. The postal traffic between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is carried out in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution of the Universal Postal Union, the Universal Postal Convention, their arrangements and regulations of execution in force, signed by the two parties, and the provisions of the present agreement.

The telecommunication connections will be achieved in conformity with the International Telecommunication Convention and its regulations in force, accepted by the two contracting parties, and the provisions of the present agreement.

Article 2. The Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Federal Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, called below "administrations," will take all due steps to expand and improve the postal and telecommunication connections between their countries.

Article 3. The administrations will constantly study the operating conditions and the rates within the framework of reciprocal postal and telecommunication relations and will establish by mutual agreement the methods and measures that would lead to the simplification of the activity in carrying out the traffic and the settlements, proposing to their competent bodies the approval of advantageous rates for the two parties.

Article 4. Each of the two administrations will give full cooperation for solving directly and by mutual agreement all the problems that could appear between the two administrations in the activity of posts and telecommunications.

They will achieve exchanges of information of mutual interest on the operational, technical, economic and scientific aspects regarding the postal and telecommunication services.

## II. Posts

Article 5. The contracting parties will contribute to the development of postal connections, to the speedup of postal transportation and to the simplification of all reciprocal formalities regarding the exchange of mail.

The postal connections between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic will be used for the rapid and secure transportation of mail. Each administration will create the best technical and operating conditions for this purpose.

To as great an extent as possible, each administration will direct its own mail for third countries along the land, sea and air routes of the other country, in conformity with the directly agreed procedure, taking into account the most advantageous reciprocal economic conditions for the two administrations and the quality of the services.

Article 6. The direct exchange and the transit of mail between the two administrations will be achieved through the exchange offices. Each administration will communicate to the other, in due time, the exchange offices used and all the changes occurring in the organization of them.

Article 7. The mail coming from one of the administrations and meant for a third country will be directed by the other administration along the most rapid routes used for its own mail.

Article 8. The registered mail is entered collectively on the notification sheets. The exception is the forwarded and returned mail, sent in open transit, which will be entered individually on the notification sheets or on the special lists.

In the case of the loss, total theft or total damaging of the content of the collectively entered registered mail, without it being possible to establish the territory on which, or in the service of whose administration, the act occurred, the two administrations will pay the damages in equal parts.

Article 9. The maximum amount of the declared value for insured letters is set at 5,000 francs in gold.

The exchange of these insured letters is done in conformity with the provisions of the Universal Postal Convention and its regulation of application.

Article 10. Ordinary and insured parcels, up to the maximum weight of 20 kg, will be permitted in the direct exchange. Fragile, bulky and official parcels, with the special instructions "express," an acknowledgement of receipt (AR) and a nondelivery notice, will also be permitted.

The maximum amount of the declared value for postal parcels is set at 1,000 francs in gold.

Article 11. The parcels exchanged between the two administrations will be subject to territorial departure, transit and terminal quotas and to maritime quotas whose value will be set by mutual agreement through correspondence, in conformity with the provisions of the Arrangement Regarding Postal Parcels in force.

Article 12. The exemption from postage will also be applied, besides to the mail of the postal service mentioned in the Acts of the Universal Postal Union, to the mail for the telecommunication services exchanged between the two administrations.

Article 13. For the letters up to 20 grams and for the post cards exchanged in the reciprocal relations between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic the postage in force in their domestic system will be applied.

Article 14. With a view to the development of collaboration and reciprocal information in the field of the issuance of postage stamps, a regular exchange of all new issues of postage stamps, in 20 copies, will be achieved.

In accordance with its possibilities, each administration will take part in the exhibitions of postage stamps organized by the other administration.

### III. Telecommunications

Article 15. The telecommunication connections between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic will be used for the rapid and secure transmission of telephonic, telegraphic and telex communications and for the transmission of radio and television programs. Each administration will create the best technical and operating conditions for this purpose. Each administration will utilize to as great an extent as possible the ground and satellite telecommunication connections of the other administration, both for its direct traffic and for the through traffic for third countries, taking into account the most advantageous economic conditions for the two administrations, in conformity with the directly agreed procedure.

Article 16. The two contracting parties have agreed that each administration is to provide, on the territory on which it performs its activity, the technical means needed for the terminal and through telecommunication traffic of the other administration to other countries.

The number of circuits needed and of routes of direction will be established through correspondence or through direct contacts between the two administrations.

Article 17. All categories of telegrams mentioned in the International Telegraphic Regulation in force are permitted in the telegraphic traffic between the two countries, with the exception of the restrictions reported to the International Telecommunication Union by the two contracting parties.

The two administrations can also permit, as a result of a reciprocal agreement, other categories of telegrams, whose acceptance is optional, and the services mentioned in the notices of the CCITT [International Telephone and Telegraph Consultative Committee].



Article 18. All categories of calls, priorities and facilities, as well as other services, mentioned in the documents of the International Telecommunication Union, are permitted in the telephone traffic between the two countries, with the exception of the restrictions reported to the International Telecommunication Union by the two contracting parties.

Article 19. The providing of the connections for the exchange of radio and television programs will be done in conformity with the international documents in force accepted by the two administrations.

Article 20. The rates that must be charged for the television circuits used for the transmission of "Current Events" television programs will be set in conformity with the international documents accepted by the two administrations.

Article 21. The administrations will assign and utilize the frequencies in such a way as to avoid bothersome interference between their radio-communication services, in conformity with the international procedures in force and the international agreements accepted by the two contracting parties within the framework of the International Telecommunication Union.

The consultations between the administrations will be achieved, when necessary, through correspondence or through meetings of experts.

Article 22. On the basis of the International Telecommunication Union's regulations in force, having the approval of their competent bodies, the two administrations will set by mutual agreement the rates for the telegrams and telephonic communications between the two countries.

Article 23. The rate for the state telegrams and telephone calls between the two countries will be 50 percent of the rate for ordinary personal telegrams and telephone calls.

Article 24. The telegrams transmitted between the two administrations will have the text written in Latin characters. The English language or the French language will be used for the operational telecommunication actions between their international centers.

Article 25. The administrations, with the agreement of the competent bodies, will set between them the other telephone rates (including the reduced telephone rates), telegraph and telex rates, and rates for radio and television transmissions, through correspondence or through direct contacts, taking into account the rates mentioned in the international regulations in force, accepted by the two contracting parties.

#### IV. Settlement for Postal and Telecommunication Services

Article 26. The accounts and deductions generated by postal and telecommunication services, mentioned in this agreement, will be drawn up with the periodicity established in the international regulations, agreed by the administrations, and will be exchanged directly between them. The administrations will study the application of simplified methods of settlement (statistical methods and so on).

Article 27. The monetary unit used for setting the rates and for accounting is the monetary unit agreed between the two administrations.

Article 28. The making of all the payments that result from the application of this agreement will be done in conformity with the provisions of the Governmental Agreement on Payments in force between the two contracting parties.

#### V. Scientific and Technical Collaboration

Article 29. The contracting parties will promote direct scientific and technical collaboration in the field of posts and telecommunications.

This collaboration will be concretized through an arrangement concluded between the two administrations.

#### VI. Final Provisions

Article 30. In order to facilitate the implementation of the provisions of the present agreement, the administrations will be able to achieve, whenever they consider it necessary, an exchange of letters for specifying some technical, operational and organizational elements of the postal and telecommunication services of the two administrations.

The official correspondence between the two administrations will be done in one of the French, Russian or English languages.

Article 31. Any dispute regarding the interpretation or application of the present agreement will be resolved through direct negotiations between the administrations. If the administrations do not come to terms, the dispute will be resolved through diplomatic channels.

Article 32. The present agreement will be subject to approval, in conformity with the domestic legislative provisions of each contracting party.

Each of the contracting parties will inform the other contracting party in writing about the approval of the present agreement.

The agreement will go into effect on the date of the receipt of the last notification in writing.

The validity of the agreement is for 5 years beginning on the date of its going into effect and will be renewed by tacit agreement for new periods of 5 years, if neither of the contracting parties cancels it, in writing, at least 6 months before the expiration of each period of validity.

Article 33. The present agreement can be amended or supplemented by mutual agreement of the contracting parties.

These amendments or supplements will be subject to approval and will go into effect in conformity with the provisions of Article 32 of the present agreement.

Article 34. Beginning on the date that it goes into effect, the present agreement replaces the Agreement Between the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Federal Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic on Postal and Telecommunication Services, signed in Prague on 18 March 1971.

Concluded on 16 August 1982, in Bucharest, in two original copies, each in the Romanian, Czech and French languages, with all texts having the same value. In the case of differences in interpretation, the text in the French language will prevail.

For the government of  
the Socialist Republic of Romania,

Vasile Bulucea

For the government of  
the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic,

Vlastimil Chalupa

12105

CSO: 2700/174



HUNGARIAN-ROMANIAN CONTROVERSY, CHRONOLOGY, CRITIQUE

Munich SUEDOST-EUROPA in German No 1 Vol 32, 1983 pp 37-60

[Article by Gerhard Sewann and Kathrin Sitzler: "Hungarian Critique of Lancranjan's Essay on Transylvania"]

[Text] Starting in 1977, there has been a debate going on—primarily among Hungarian and Romanian intellectuals—which deals with the Transylvanian nationalities problem and not only threatens to affect bilateral political relations but is also beginning to have a detrimental effect on the relationship between a part of the Hungarian intelligentsia and the regime. The debate has attained a new climax with the publication of a collection of essays by the Romanian author Lancranjan. This report proposes to provide information on the salient points of the Hungarian critique of Lancranjan's views. The chronology immediately below lists the most important dates and facts relating to the debate. To deal with the Hungarian position in some depth, it is necessary to examine the most recent statements made in the larger context of the national and historical consciousness of Hungarian society and its impact on the political thinking of the intelligentsia. This latter aspect will be dealt with in the second part of our study to be published in the next issue of SUEDOST-EUROPA.

Chronology

31 July 1975: Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP central committee, speaks at the Helsinki CSCE conference. In his speech, he refers, among other things, to the "imperialist peace dictate" of Trianon and its consequences for Hungary (as reported in NEPSZABADSAG, 1 Aug 75, p 1).

15/16 June 1977: Party leaders Janos Kadar and Nicolae Ceausescu meet twice in the frontier towns of Debrecen and Oradea. In the cultural agreement concluded between the two countries nationalities are not specifically included. Kadar lays stress on the "bridge function" exercised by the nationalities in promoting bilateral relations while Ceausescu places greater emphasis on solving nationalities problems within the framework of "the internal affairs of the particular country" (as reported in NEPSZABADSAG, 17 Jul 77, p 3).

25 December 1977 and 1 January 1978: Gyula Illyes writes a two-part article in MAGYAR NEMZET entitled "A Response to Herder and Adyl" dealing with national minorities in Europe and examining in some detail the situation of Hungarian minorities in neighboring countries. Illyes accuses Romania of ethnocide of the Magyars in Transylvania.

8 July 1978: In an article entitled "Along the Danube—Here You Must Live," historian Zsigmond Pal Pach, vice president of the Hungarian academy of sciences, defends Gyula Illyes against Romanian attacks—particularly by Mihnea Gheorghiu, the president of the Romanian academy, who had responded to the earlier Illyes pieces (as reported in ELET ES IRODALOM).

30 January 1979: The "East Europe and Nationalities Commission" of the Hungarian academy of sciences, founded in 1976 (with Emil Niederhauser as its president and Laszlo Koevago as secretary), agrees on its first "project proposal on nationalities research" which includes research into the cultural situation of the Hungarian minorities [cf Lajos Tuer in VALOSAG 25 (1982) 1, p 34]

June 1979: The first issue of the popular scientific magazine HISTORIA, published by the Hungarian Historical Society, carries a long, strongly critical article by four leading Hungarian historians (Gyoergy Gyoerffy, Peter Hanak, Andras Mocsy and Laszlo Makkai) on the Daco-Romanian continuity theory, entitled "The Peoples of the Carpathian Basin Prior to Hungarian Settlement."

13 April 1980: After 3 years of preparation, the Hungarian consulate in Cluj-Napoca is opened. The establishment of the consulate was part of the Kadar-Ceausescu agreement concluded in the summer of 1977 (as reported in NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG, 16 Apr 80).

August 1980: VALOSAG carries a historical-demographic article by Zoltan David (on pp 87-101) entitled "Hungarian Nationality Statistics Past and Present" which for the first time cites exact figures on demographic development of Hungarian minorities in Austria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Romania and the Soviet Union for 1920 to 1970.

18 August 1980: In a radio talk commenting on the international historians' congress held in Bucharest from 10 August to 17 August 1980, Gyoergy Ranki, deputy director of the academy's historiographic institute, stresses the differences between Hungarian and Romanian historiography, pointing out the following areas of contention: Daco-Romanian continuity; the history of Transylvania and its role in history; the Hungarian war of independence in 1848/49 and the peace treaty of Trianon in 1920.

May 1981: "Nationalities in Present-Day Hungary," a book by Laszlo Koevago, is published by Kossuth publishing house. It is the most comprehensive Hungarian study ever on Hungarian nationalities policy between 1918 and 1980.

13 March 1982: NEPSZABADSAG carries a satirical piece by Zoltan Galabardi, entitled "The Identity," which quite clearly is an attack on Nicolae Ceausescu and his personality cult as well as his view of history (the Daco-Romanian continuity theory). Criticism of a fraternal socialist country along these lines is something totally unheard of thus far.

15 March 1982: Romanian censorship authorities give permission for Ion Lancranjan's book "A Word on Transylvania" to be published. Among other things, the book contains an indirect attack on Janos Kadar, accusing him of irredentism and revisionist policies on the Transylvania issue.

July 1982: The avant-garde cultural magazine MOZGO VILAG carries a lengthy article by Zoltan David, director of the central statistical office archives, entitled "The Magyars along Our Borders," in which he reports on Magyar minorities in neighboring countries. Taking issue with Romanian statistics, he places the number of Hungarians living in Romania at 2 million. The June issue of this same magazine carried a lengthy article by Ernoe Raffay entitled "Koloszvar—Christmas 1918. A Change of Empire in Transylvania." The October issue then carries a study by Gyoengyi Gellert entitled "Cui Prodest? The Workaday World of Ethnographic Research of the Romanian Magyars."

13/14 July 1982: Official visit by Premier Gyoergy Lazar in Bucharest. The nationalities issue is not mentioned in the official communique. There is an indirect reference to it in that the 1977 Kadar-Ceausescu agreement is specifically cited (as reported in NEPSZABADSAG, 15 Jul 82, p 3).

September 1982: The magazine TISZATAJ carries a first Hungarian comment on Lancranjan by Pal Koeteles. Because of this article, Laszlo Voeroes, editor-in-chief of TISZATAJ, is forced to resign in October at the behest of the Hungarian ministry of culture. The newly elected leadership of the Hungarian writers' union succeeds in getting him reinstated in late November (cf NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG 27 Oct 82 and 2 Dec 82).

October 1982: VALOSAG carries a review of Lancranjan's book by Gyoergy Szaraz. His comments are considered to reflect the semi-official view.

20 November 1982: Following the arrest of several Magyar writers and intellectuals in Transylvania, 71 Hungarian intellectuals address a letter protesting against the actions of the Romanian authorities to Premier Gyoergy Lazar, to the Hungarian writers' union and the Hungarian PEN club (as reported in FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, 25 Nov 82)

30 November 1982: Surprise visit to Bucharest by Politburo member and leading cultural politician Gyoergy Aczel accompanied by central committee secretary Peter Varkonyi where they meet with Nicolae Ceausescu and central committee secretaries Petru Enache and Miu Dobrescu. The Hungarian communique states that the nationalities in the two countries have an "important role" to play in helping to enhance bilateral relations. The Romanian communique

makes no mention whatever of the fact that nationalities problems were discussed and thereby underscores the differences of opinion that exist between Budapest and Bucharest on this issue. The talks are to be continued in Budapest (as reported in NEPSZABADSAG, 1 December 1982, p 5).

24 December 1982: MAGYAR HIRLAP carries a statement on Hungarian foreign policy by Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja entitled "A Balanced, Active Foreign Policy" which includes the following: "We consider the development of our traditional relations to the neighboring socialist countries to be of particular importance. Through common efforts, we are resolutely attempting to find new approaches and to remove obstacles. That was the goal of the visits to Romania by comrade Lazar and by comrades Gyoergy Aczel and Peter Varkonyi." Only in the case of Romania does Puja speak of "obstacles" in Hungary's relations with its socialist neighbors.

#### The Debate

In essence, the situation of the Hungarian minorities in the neighboring socialist countries was not dealt with by the Hungarian media until the latter seventies. This was a reflection of the reticence exercised by both the government and party leaderships on this issue up to then.

The first time the nationalities issue came up as a problem in bilateral relations between Hungary and Romania was at the Kadar-Ceausescu meeting of 15/16 June 1977 where it became a specific agenda item at the highest level. The subsequent joint communique, however, left the impression that the Hungarian position on the nationalities functioning as a "bridge of understanding" between the two peoples was only given lip service by the Romanian side.<sup>1</sup>

There probably is a connection between the first CSCE follow-up conference (which took place in Belgrade from 4 Oct 1977 to 9 Mar 78) and the fact that Gyula Illyes, a leading Hungarian writer, was permitted to publish a two-part article in late 1977 and early 1978 which contained a sharp attack on Romanian nationalities policies.<sup>2</sup>

Illyes' article was the opening shot of a still continuing controversy—primarily raging in print—between Budapest and Bucharest which focuses on Transylvania and the ethnic Hungarian population living there. Illyes' critical remarks—culminating in the charge that the Magyars in Transylvania were the victims of "ethnocide"—could not go unanswered. Between May and July 1978, Mihnea Gheorghiu, president of Romania social science and policy academy, and Zsigmond Pal Pach, vice president of the Hungarian academy of sciences, crossed swords. Pach appeared ready to discuss the issues openly and soberly and not to resort to polemics.

"National problems and nationality problems which have been growing for a long time cannot be made to disappear from one day to the next," Pach said, "or simply be ignored by appealing to the friendship between the two peoples..."



nor can the problems be overcome by not talking about them or by making believe they do not exist. If we did this, we would lend support to rekindling old resentments, to one-sided portrayals of our common historic heritage and to making the actual present-day situation appear better than it is."<sup>3</sup>

In the years that followed, the Hungarian side of the argument was characterized by a low-key approach and was primarily conducted on a scientific plane. It was all the more surprising that NEPSZABADSAG, the official party newspaper, heated up the controversy by publishing a satirical article in the spring of 1982.<sup>4</sup> Romania provided a counterpoint to this event by coming out with a collection of essays entitled "A Word on Transylvania" by Ion Lancranjan.<sup>5</sup> But even today it is still unclear whether there is a causal connection between the publication of the satirical article and the collection of essays although they do have one thing in common: both contain an indirect attack on the party chief of the neighboring country. At any rate, the Lancranjan book does contain the notation that Romanian censorship cleared it for publication just 2 days after the article appeared.

#### Hungarian Comment on Lancranjan

There have been two Hungarian comments on the Lancranjan book thus far. The first of these, by Pal Koeteles, appeared in the September issue of TISZATAJ and was entitled "Musings before a Distorted Image." The second was by Gyorgy Szaraz. Its title was "A Very Special Book" and it appeared in the October issue of VALOSAG.<sup>6</sup>

TISZATAJ, one of the better known magazines from the Hungarian provinces, is published in Szeged. It has been devoting a good deal of attention in the recent past to Hungarian-Romanian relations and to the affairs of the Hungarian minority living in Romania. Pal Koeteles, a writer born in Cluj-Napoca in 1927, emigrated from Romania to Hungary in 1977. Since his comments quite clearly did not have official sanction and did not seem opportune to the Budapest authorities for foreign policy reasons in view of the fact that the author chose at least to associate Romanian party and government chief Ceausescu with "politicians with crazy brains"<sup>7</sup>, the magazine's editor-in-chief Laszlo Voeroes was dismissed but reinstated in late November following intercession on his behalf by the newly elected presidium of the Hungarian writers' union.

Gyorgy Szaraz, born in 1930, has made a name for himself both as a journalist and a litterateur who has specialized in writing about thorny historico-political issues such as Hungarian anti-Semitism for example.<sup>8</sup> In 1978, Szaraz was awarded the Jozsef-Attila literature prize.

The respective issues of TISZATAJ and VALOSAG were sold out within a matter of hours which gives an indication of the Hungarian public's wide interest in these questions.

The semi-official nature of Szaraz' comments was underscored by the fact that a shorter version of his VALOSAG article appeared in the 30 Oct 82 issue of MAGYAR HIREK, the organ of the World Federation of Hungarians, and that Radio Budapest carried a 35-minute interview with the author on the subject of his Lancranjan review. The semi-official nature of the Szaraz piece is further documented by its content. In his VALOSAG article, Szaraz strongly rejects the idea that Lancranjan's book could be viewed as a true representation of the position taken by the Romanian leadership on the matters at issue and he also specifically excludes Ceausescu personally from criticism—in contrast to Koeteles.

Another major difference between the two comments is that Szaraz' arguments are drawn from cultural history and ideological criticism and tend to skirt current political issues whereas Koeteles adopts a decidedly national point of view and therefore addresses topical political problems more directly. In this sense, Koeteles reflects the critical-to-dissident views of some Hungarian writers and intellectuals who would like to see the government adopt a tougher position on the issue of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania. This is in fact the direction in which Koeteles' final sentence tends. Lancranjan, he says, "believes that there are some people in our country who worry too much about the fate of the Magyars in Romania. [But] his book is proof of the fact that these worries are neither excessive, nor superfluous."<sup>9</sup>

The style and the tenor of their criticism is different, too. The language used by Koeteles is a good deal tougher and more resolute on specific issues. Szaraz, on the other hand, resorts to rhetorical devices and polished style to make his point while diplomatically avoiding more precise language.

But despite these differences, the two authors agree on criticizing both style and content of the Lancranjan book. Koeteles finds there is "serious lack of aesthetic quality" in the book; a "bombastic style full of constant repetition and of cliches which fly in the face of experience and historical truth, which appeal to the reader's sentiments hoping to induce the appropriate response."<sup>10</sup> Szaraz summarizes his view of the book as follows: "The text is a mixture of myth and reality and even though the pathetic exaggerations may seem anachronistic to the reader, he should not smile about them."<sup>11</sup>

As for content, the two authors focus on three main points indicative in their view of the openly anti-Hungarian slant of the book.

1. The juxtaposition of the national characteristics of the Magyars and the Romanians in a primitive black-and-white manner; the use of historical material to make the Magyars appear in a negative light at all times, which, in Koeteles' view, proves that Lancranjan is "mildly speaking a pathological distorter of reality."<sup>12</sup>

2. A construct which postulates that the Romanian people has continuously—up to the present—been subjected to threats by the Hungarian people—which implies the charge raised indirectly against Kadar of being guilty of irredentism and territorial revisionism (the Transylvania claim).



3. Based on the above, the demand for a more restrictive policy toward the Magyar minority in Transylvania.

These three points will be treated with in greater detail later on.

#### Simplifications and Perversions of History

Koeteles especially makes a point of commenting on Lancranjan's biased description of the Hungarian popular character. "In the author's view," he says, "there is a fundamental difference between the 'profoundly humane and tolerant' character of the Romanian people and the violent conquerors who are the Hungarians. According to the author, there is no reason whatever to differentiate between Hungarian 'peasants, workers and burghers.' All segments of society, all individuals in fact have the urge to subjugate others; to lord it over them."<sup>13</sup>

Commenting on the issue of the continuity of Romanian settlements in Transylvania and on Lancranjan's contention that the Romanians who were "civilized since Roman times" were "de-nationalized" starting in the 11th century by the "newly-arrived barbarians," the Magyars, Szaraz says: "Lancranjan projects cultural and political nationalism as well as racist imperialism, ethnic separatism and de-nationalization back into the dim past and lays all these sins at Hungary's door hundreds of years after the fact...It looks [to me] like a case of someone picking a fight."<sup>14</sup>

Strong protests are also lodged against Lancranjan's description of events in Transylvania in the early forties, particularly his one-sided emphasis on Hungarian outrages at the time. "Does Lancranjan want to play a numbers game on atrocities without saying a word about the ones committed by the Romanians," Szaraz asks. "Are we to dig up the dead and have the bloodstained shades of the past almost 150 years go at each other again?" Szaraz calls for "not citing the atrocities of both sides separately but to view them as a unit, as a potential for human aberration inherent in both."<sup>15</sup> In contrast to Szaraz, Koeteles also touches on the persecution of the Jews and Romania's aspirations in World War II. "The annihilation of one-half million Jews is stricken from the annals of Romanian history by Lancranjan," he writes, "just like the urge to obtain foreign territory and the true facts relating to both—the recognition of which would put his own theory (that of a continuing threat to the Romanians) into question."<sup>16</sup>

Both Hungarian reviewers take a generally dim view of the way Lancranjan uses historical material to further his arguments. In this connection, Szaraz makes a general point of citing the different approaches taken by modern-day Hungarian and Romanian historiography and then reiterates the call of Hungarian historiography to resolve "scientific issues only by scientific means" and to avoid any "forced politicization" whatever of such issues.

Koeteles, on the other hand, openly speaks of a perversion of history. "Lancranjan has a favorite hobby," he writes, "and that is consciously to distort and to mislead the reader. The 'facts' and 'data' obtained with the help of his method [by which Koeteles means Lancranjan's way of citing references and offering interpretation] serve to develop and buttress his threat theory."<sup>18</sup>

#### Continuity of Threat and Irredentism

Since the Hungarian scientific community had voiced a strong negative reaction to the Daco-Romanian continuity theory, it is not surprising to find the two reviewers reacting to Lancranjan's continuing threat theory in a similar manner. According to Lancranjan, it is based on the character traits of the Magyars "who have not only had an eternally perfidious relationship with us [the Romanians] but with the whole world—a world they have deceived so many times by posing as something they never were and in fact never will be."<sup>19</sup> It is this aggressive, deceitful character trait, this "racial peculiarity of the Magyars" which poses a continuing threat to the the Romanians in Lancranjan's view. The threat is manifested until this day in irredentist goals and revisionist aspirations of the Magyars relating to Transylvania. In his review, Szaraz cites a passage from Lancranjan's book that makes this point clear. "We must not forget," Lancranjan writes, "that there have been and still are revisionist demands relating to Transylvania. Irredentism raises its head both near to us and far away..."<sup>20</sup>

Lancranjan himself was not satisfied with this blanket accusation but went on to quote "statements made in an important Budapest forum in 1966" which are still valid today in his estimation. These statements as well as "remarks by the same speaker at the Helsinki conference"<sup>21</sup> relating to Trianon and its consequences are at the center of Szaraz' considerations. The speaker, not named by Lancranjan but identified by Szaraz on the basis of the reference to Helsinki, is none other than Janos Kadar. Szaraz concludes that the "important forum in 1966" was the 9th party congress of the MSZMP where Kadar did refer to the "imperialist dictate of Trianon" among other things.

In his initial analysis of the pertinent passages in Lancranjan's book, Szaraz comes to the conclusion that the Romanian author accuses the Hungarian party leader and along with him the entire leadership of its socialist neighbor of irredentism and revisionist policies. Szaraz then goes on to prove that Lancranjan did not quote Kadar correctly and thus accuses the author of "willful distortion."<sup>22</sup>

The nature of this distortion and the direction followed by Lancranjan is examined in greater detail by Koeteles. "True to his method," Koeteles writes, "Lancranjan has taken both quotations out of context and translated them to suit his own ends. But even in the new context, the translation is nothing but an inversion of meaning. In his eagerness to distort the meaning [the author] even makes the horrendous mistake of speaking of the loss of one-third of the territory whereas the Hungarian speaker had truthfully referred to the retention of one-third of the territory and the loss of two-thirds. It

was this very separation of such extremely large territories and of several million Magyars that created the problem in the first place—the problem that neither the Wilson self-determination theory, nor the principle of ethnographic borders was at all respected at Trianon. It is because of this that the nationalities rights issue has remained on the agenda. And this is a fact even if Lancranjan proudly announces that there is nationalities issue to speak of in Romania today; that it exists only in an artificial, denatured form because Romania is not a multinational nation but a 'unified, national state.'"<sup>23</sup>

Koeteles is particularly upset over Lancranjan's attempts to minimize Trianon and the effects it had and to deny the existence of a nationalities problem in today's Romania in particular. Politically speaking, Koeteles calls for nothing less than the recognition of the status quo—that it to say the nationalities problem—which to his mind actually exists as a consequence of the Trianon treaty. Szaraz in fact takes the same position.

"Janos Kadar," he writes, "really did speak of the 'Trianon dictate' and in my view there is no reason for us to take exception to Lenin who called the Versailles peace treaties a ruthless violation of the rights of the weak nations. Before we go on with our reading of Lancranjan, let us call the following to mind: true knowledge of historic realities and the responsible recall of the facts of the past are not in themselves a program for action."<sup>24</sup>

By citing Lenin, Szaraz legitimizes Kadar's historico-political evaluation of the Trianon treaty while emphasizing at the same time that even an accurate estimate of historical facts cannot serve as a program of action for present-day policies. By saying this, Szaraz rejects Lancranjan's charge of irredentism and revisionism as totally unjustified. But because Lancranjan's analysis focuses on ideology criticism, he himself falls victim to a 'false' historical 'consciousness' which in turn makes him ascribe this particular action program to Hungary. To document this, Szaraz quotes Lancranjan as saying that "social and political differences to the contrary notwithstanding the present era resembles the years following World War I to some extent—particularly the time after 1930—when almost the same absurd slogans were being bruited about and there was a finger pointing at Transylvania practically all the time."<sup>25</sup>

Szaraz' basic critique, however, is aimed at the 'false' historical 'consciousness'. "An arbitrary view of history," he writes, "a mishmash of fact and myth, a distortion of present-day realities is dangerous even if it does not include a program of action for now."<sup>26</sup>

#### Restrictive Policies to Serve Ethnic Homogenization

Szaraz goes on to show that Lancranjan's view of history does in fact constitute the basis for a program of action. "...the political implications of Lancranjan's historical arguments become clear when his views on the nationalities are examined."<sup>27</sup> In Lancranjan's view, the Magyars were a minority in Transylvania from the very start. That is why, he argues, the situation of

the Romanians in Transylvania prior to 1918—who had always been in the majority there—cannot be equated to that of the Magyars after 1918 (and even today). According to Szaraz, this "chain of historical arguments" acts as a cover for political aims.

"The later arrival, who came in as an occupier in the bargain—even if he remained in the territory for several centuries—does not really have a claim on equal rights," he writes. "The granting of equal rights can only be based on magnanimity of the indigenous majority—which means that even if equal rights are granted to an individual, he still remains a second-grade citizen. I am not saying that Lancranjan puts it in exactly these terms but his line of argument does pull the reader in that direction."<sup>28</sup>

Proof of the fact that Lancranjan does think along these lines is the way in which he views the main problem of present-day Romanian nationalities policies vis-a-vis the Magyars. He does not believe "that minorities have rights but that 'their requests and demands tend to grow the moment they are fulfilled.'" In Szaraz' view, this attests to a "desire" on Lancranjan's part "for discriminatory legislation." Koeteles even goes one step further by accusing Lancranjan of viewing "the non-recognition of nationalities rights... the rapid assimilation of nationalities...total ethnic homogenization...as the most effective method for resolving the nationalities issue once and for all."<sup>29</sup> In the Hungarian view, Lancranjan's ultimate aims become particularly clear in the way he looks at Switzerland which he does not consider the exemplar of a multinational state but the ideal commonwealth aspired to by those who "have concluded a pact eternal with unrest and aggressiveness."<sup>30</sup>

"Lancranjan does not look upon Switzerland as the ideal," Szaraz writes, "but I have a feeling that socialist Romania is not an ideal for him, either. In all, his book merely tells me that his ideal would be an ethnocratic state whose power is not based on the 'demos,' the people as a whole made up of classes and different tribes, but on the 'ethnos,' the race of one blood which grants no room to the outsider. Such a state is based not on integration but on segregation."<sup>31</sup>

By reaching this conclusion, Szaraz throws back the fascism charge leveled against Illyes in 1978 by the Romanians at Lancranjan. At the same time, he is at pains to localize the controversy and restrict his criticism to Lancranjan personally. Making use of two Ceausescu quotes on "equal rights for the nationalities in Romania" taken from a speech at the June plenum of the RCP central committee, Szaraz tries to convince his Hungarian readers of the fact that Lancranjan should not be seen as representing the Romanian government and party leadership and its policies—nor, in fact, that he could be recognized as such by the Hungarian public. "In my view," Szaraz writes, "Lancranjan represents something that had best be overcome as rapidly as possible."<sup>32</sup>



The fact, however, that two socialist countries are leveling accusations of fascism against one another in an intellectual debate on historico-political issues must in itself be viewed as a symptom for serious and deepseated differences in the national and historic consciousness of the two "fraternal peoples" which are only scantily covered over by their common socialist ideology and social order.

#### A Word on Transylvania—The Ion Lancranjan Essays

In "A Word on Transylvania," published by Editura Sport-Turism, Bucharest in 1982, Romanian novelist Ion Lancranjan, born in 1928, has collected four lyrical, patriotic essays. The first three have already appeared in published form in magazines in 1957, 1979 and 1980. They were "Transylvanian Rhapsody," "The Landscapes of Home" and "Patriotism—A Necessity of Life." The title essay "A Word on Transylvania" was written between 1980 and 1982. The Lancranjan book was officially released for publication on 15 March 1982, 2 days after NEPSZABADSAG published a satirical piece on Ceausescu by Galabardi.

For some years now, literature has been used in Romania as a seemingly innocuous way of publicizing controversial political material. One example of this practice was Marin Preda's novel "The Delirium" which contained a portrait of Marshal Antonescu and an analysis of the Bessarabia issue. Lancranjan, in fact, may be counted among a group of officially "non-conformist" authors—including recently deceased Marin Preda, Dumitru Radu Popescu, Dinu Sararu, Francisc Pacurariu and others—whose sallies into foreign and domestic policy territory are tolerated and in some cases even abetted.

It is not Lancranjan's topics and theories that are new. They have in fact been the subject of a controversy between Hungarian and Romanian historians for some years. What is new is the charge of territorial revisionism leveled by Lancranjan against historians both inside and outside Hungary and the scarcely veiled attack on the Hungarian party leadership under Janos Kadar. Another unusual aspect is his critique of statements and publications by representatives of the Magyars in Romania.

Leaving Lancranjan's emotionally tinged rhetoric aside for the moment, there are statements by the Romanian government and party leadership which echo the author's thinking in important respects—with the exception of his calculated present-day analogies. In his programmatic address to the ideological plenum of the RCP central committee (as reported in SCINTEIA on 2 June 1982) Nicolae Ceausescu sharply attacked "some historians" who still cling to the vacuum theory concerning Transylvania today. According to Ceausescu, the Daco-Roman origin and continuity of the Romanian people represents "the basis of any and all ideological, theoretical and politico-educational activity." The continued development of a "feeling of national pride" in Romania must be accompanied, to be sure, by the development of friendly attitudes toward other peoples, he said. But at the same time he warned "some countries and some reactionary imperialist circles" of "using the national issue as a means of sowing enmity and discord among peoples." [Anneli Ute Gabanyi]

The Peasantry as the Representative of Romanian Continuity [pp 126-128]

Our continued existence of which we have had every reason to speak would have dissolved into thin air or have been destroyed as a result of invasions, if there had not been this homestead—/the village/—which lived and continued to live because of and thanks to the peasantry which made a new start after each invasion, after each wave of repression and after each catastrophe... At the outset, the peasants were Dacians; later they were Romans and then Romanians. It was a natural continuity as evidenced but never totally uncovered by ever new research in archeology and linguistics. This is not so because this indubitable continuity may be ascribed to mysterious or miraculous events but because it is so real and natural and so closely tied to this land that there is almost no further evidence needed; because it has become a part of the natural order of essential, normative things as an integral ingredient of the existential life of a whole people...

I will not idealize the life of this important precursor of ours [the peasant] nor do I intend to exaggerate his virtues in order not to minimize the merits and the magnanimity of the wise men and the voivodes who have come from this same people—from this, our ancient people whose existence and continuity in this divine region can be disputed only by those who have made a habit of eternally living in meanness and by meanness not only toward us but toward the world which they have often misled by acting the part of someone they never were and never will be. As a matter of fact, there is no need whatever to play things up or to exaggerate because the peasant always was the fulcrum and the decisive factor for an entire people not just for a year or two, not just for 100 or 200 years, not even for 1,000 years but far longer. That is the way it was from the very beginning. The clothes he wears prove it—our national costume which has come down to us through the ages almost unchanged. His legends and ballads prove it and so do his stories and fairy tales. His wisdom fed by "paganism" proves it as does his by no means excessive religiousness.

His very character is indicative of tradition and genuine nobility and offers incontestable proof of his brotherly ties to a specific region from which he has taken a lot but to which he has given an equal amount, on which he has, without exerting force, put his stamp as he actually has done on the [entire] country because he—the peasant—represents the symmetrical axis of a particular form of existence and a particular specific without isolating himself as people thought and continue to think. He took on from others what was worth taking on and in turn gave them of his possessions, breaking his own piece of bread in two and oftentimes being left emptyhanded in the process—not because of his everlasting goodness, which also gives proof of his age and his strength, but because of the greed of those to whom he extended his fraternal hand. More than once he was robbed, nailed to the cross, hanged and shot, tied to the wheel and dismembered so that he would never find his way back to himself; so that his will and his mind would die and he would no longer



disturb those who wished to assume absolute sway over this legendary region. After each wave of repression and after each crackdown by the landlords, it really seemed for a time that there was no sign of resistance anywhere any more and as if the domination and oppression by the invaders would be total and last forever...

But all this, I will be told, are emotional arguments; poetic hyperbole pure and simple. My response will be that knowing full well the situation in which I am speaking in view of the fact that I live and work in a new, socialist country in which the nationalities enjoy equal rights my feeling is that the fraternity we have sought and are seeking today will not be achieved, if we do not recognize certain real, important facts (not just formally or out of simple courtesy occasioned by circumstance) such as our continued existence and our continuity, the constant majority position of the Romanians in Transylvania and the irreversible nature of our great unification [which took effect in 1918].

Whenever this indisputable truth is violated; whenever these important facts are swept aside or undermined new forms of irredentism tend to arise under the new conditions. Every type of irredentism, as sophisticated and invidious as it may be, cannot help but create discord and rage, taking us back to the old animosities, adding grist to the mills of imperialism and harming both the national interests of the Romanians and all those who live alongside them and work with them in this free and proud country which by rights called itself and still calls itself Romania and out of whose body not a single part, not a single province can be torn without leaving behind a deep and unforgettable wound, a deep, long-lasting bloodletting such as occurred in 1940, such as occurred many times before then and such as must never occur again...

Who Civilized Whom ? [pp 143-144]

There have been opposing views as well according to which the Romanians may be divided into "two differently structured categories"—a Western-oriented group which developed as a result of living together with the Hungarians whose "psychology and culture is closer" to that of the Hungarians and another group which "settled on the far side of the Carpathians, a more or less Oriental group" which differs "from the first group on the basis of its temperament, its ways of thinking and its history." Such distinctions are arbitrary and do not correspond to the facts in that they reflect a supposed superiority of the Hungarians who are said to have played a civilizing role in Transylvania and to have influenced the Romanians living there in a Western sense as a result of which these Romanians would differ from their compatriots in other parts of the country. In truth that is not the way it is at all. If indeed it ever existed, the civilizational difference was not as large or pronounced as to produce a different kind of temperament and a distinct psychological profile.

In addition, it is open to question who civilized whom. At the time the Hungarians moved into Transylvania, the Romanians had long been converted to Christianity which is a factor of decisive importance for the civilizational level of that time. The Romanians had settled down; they were farmers and not just shepherders. Their way of life, in fact, hardly differed from that of their predecessors—the Dacians who had knowledge of metal-working and who themselves were good farmers; or the Romans who were very good soldiers and "good householders" to whom Dacia owed a new and glorious Golden Age. Bishop Otto of Freisingen tells us on the other hand how the Hungarians lived at home in the puszta—not in the 10th but in the 12th century. The bishop, as Gyula Illyes, the famous Hungarian author, pointed out in his book "The Puszta People," found that "the population of the Pannonian plains lived in tents as late as in the middle of the 12th century." At the same time, we should mention that the Romanians had preserved a number of Roman organizational structures in their own administrations. Social life in the province was no longer characterized by the expansiveness and glitter of former times; but it did go on, carried forward by a new people which lived in ways that were surely superior to the nomadic existence the Hungarians had not yet cast aside...[p 154]

Thus one may truly say that the Hungarians' arrival in Transylvania turned back the wheel of history in a social sense and that things from then on got more feudal and rigid, more reactionary, steadily more blind and steadily more influenced by special interests and pride...

#### Justification for Greater Romania in 1918 [pp157-158]

The unification of 1918 did not solve all of Romania's problems of course; but this in turn does not justify any of the critical accusations leveled against the country. The least justified and at the same time persistent criticism—which still has its supporters today—refers back to the so-called imperialist nature of the war fought by Romania between 1916 and 1918. This supposedly Marxist and purportedly scientific theory, as is well known, was upheld for many years although it did not correspond to reality or to the known facts. It did, however, correspond to other non-Marxist theories which held that Romania, because of its situation, should not become an independent country. This same imperialist "theory" had confronted us in 1859 and again in 1878 with its teeth bared and then, in 1916 and 1917, it made eyes at the Central Powers, giving consideration to the fate of Romania and a partition of the country. Czarist Russia would receive Moldavia up to the Carpathians; Austro-Hungary would keep Transylvania and the Banat and get both Greater and Lesser Wallachia and Bulgaria would receive Dobrudza. And we, in the poet's words, would have had to strap our rivers on our backs and move to another country.

But what reason was there for us to move, I would dare ask without a trace of rancor. And what reason was there for us to be crowded in on the land we owned and to which we had a right? Why should it have to be our fate to be partitioned time and again? We never wanted to partition anyone else's country! Why is it that even today, so many years after unification, the claim is made that the Romanians living in Transylvania simply "exchanged one ruler for another?" Why is it that the unification is being called the result of an altered power relationship in this part of Europe—as the contention was in a study entitled "What Do We Know about Romania?" which was published in Budapest not long ago? [Kossuth Publishing House, 1979] Why is it that people talk about a military occupation of Transylvania as was done in an article published in LITERATUR magazine [No 1, 1980] which did not include a single word on the great popular assembly of Alba-Iulia? One more reason why I am asking these questions is that things were different—really quite different. Romanian troops did not march into Transylvania until after the Alba-Iulia popular assembly had reached its historic decisions without any military support from any quarter. As far as the "altered power relationship" goes, one might mention that things did indeed change but that this was not the result of military defeat but the termination of a natural process which led to the establishment of national states in this part of Europe; a process which the "Holy Alliance" and the subsequent imperialist conspiracies managed to delay but not to suppress...

Post-1918 Hungarian Minority Not Comparable to Romanians under Habsburgs [pp 161-164]

For this very reason the situation of the Romanians in Transylvania during the Hungarian and Austrian occupation cannot be equated with the situation of the Hungarians in Romania after unification (as well as today). The "minority lot" of the Hungarians in Transylvania did not commence with unification in 1918—as has been maintained and still is maintained today—but much earlier. It started at about the time they came here to Transylvania where they found a settled majority population. They also found a rather well developed and stable social and political life—which did have the disadvantage of not being oriented toward conquest and warlike adventure but that was too peaceable by far for them (an aspect which once more speaks for its stability and continuity). I am stressing this point because the above comparison gives rise to erroneous and provocative conclusions. If the situation of the Romanians in Transylvania at the time of foreign occupation really was identical to that of the Hungarians in Transylvania after 1918 (actually in Romania), then that means that the Hungarians in Romania were justified yesterday—which is to say after 1918—(as well as today) to fight for the separation of Transylvania from Romania which, to put it bluntly, would be dangerous and absurd.

But who were and who are the ones who think along these lines, some people are apt to ask, pointing to unity and fraternity. The persons concerned know full well whom we are talking about would be my response—in the name of unity and fraternity of which we are in such dire need. If I were pressed for examples, I would first of all make mention of those Hungarian political figures who called for territorial revision and warlike revanchism in the time between the two world wars.

The situation is different today; but this does not mean that irredentist and revisionist ideas have died out altogether. It merely means they have changed shape in an attempt to adjust to the new social and political conditions obtaining in Romania. Not infrequently, there is a good deal of talk of unity and fraternity but at the same time the Hungarian contribution to Transylvania's cultural heritage is greatly exaggerated. In a formal sense, recognition is given to the continuity theory but at the same time it is pointed out that Hungarian roots in Transylvania's soil run very deep. For the same reasons, we sometimes see demands raised in the cultural domain which are based on separatist positions and consciously ignore the interests and problems of Romania in its entirety. Such actions must not be labelled chauvinist or irredentist but they are not as fraternal as they are made out to be, either. And as for unity, that calls for complete loyalty to the country in which one lives and works, toward the /idea/ of socialism as such which can be realized only if relations between individuals (and nations) are improved and made more humane.

Nor can all the ideas and theories be termed revisionist and revanchist which have been raised in Hungary with respect to the Transylvania issue. But they are not necessarily scientific or of a friendly nature—not to mention fraternal. If the point is made, for example, that the Daco-Romanian continuity theory "is based on figments of the imagination outside the true province of science"—as MAGYAR HIRLAP did on 25 December 1979—then that means shutting the door on any kind of discussion and blindly rendering tribute to long-obsolete, ultra-reactionary theories. And if on the other hand statements such as these are publicized—as they were in ACTA ETNOGRAFICA of April 1979—"the Wallachian people has difficulty learning languages...it has little pride and courage and is destructive by nature; Romanians are of a flighty disposition...they are lazy...the people as a whole is making only slow progress in the cultural domain," then that means undermining real, fruitful cooperation and consciously and willfully turning back history to a time we thought we had left behind us; which, in fact, we must leave behind us forever, since cooperation between our two peoples is just as necessary as that other, positive and constructive past proves and as our socialist present can indeed prove...



Communism Has Failed in Issue of Nation and Nationalities [pp 174-177]

Even for communists; even for communists within the same party or belonging to communist parties in different countries certain theories and political assessments did not have and could not have the same meaning even though the ideology on which they all based their actions was the same. In the case of the Comintern theory which held that the Romanian state came about as a result of an imperialist war and that its disintegration was inevitable on the basis of so-called self-determination, a Hungarian communist from Romania could agree with ease or even with great enthusiasm. The plan to be followed was identical in all its particulars with the plan that was "implemented" in the fall of 1916, in that winter and in the spring and summer of 1917 while we fought at Marasti and Marasesti but those who benefitted from our fighting would turn out to be others.

But let us not digress and spend time on a theory we have already discussed. Let us instead consider the position taken vis-a-vis this theory by a Hungarian communist who not only agreed with it but quickly subscribed to it primarily because self-determination in the case of Transylvania meant incorporating it in Hungary. Bela Kun, for example, accepted unification initially but then retracted acceptance which earned him the same fate as that suffered by Kossuth before him. The fact that he subordinated himself to non-Hungarian interests and called for a "new Hungary" while not wanting to see it established minus Transylvania makes it clear that he based the /new/ on the /old/ thereby undermining the new and creating new contradictions. If one goes deeper into the problem, one finds that things looked different for a Romanian communist because he either could not accept the abovementioned theory at all or could do so only with a heavy heart—which was natural—and with great pain.

The same thing applies to the period of the "intensification of the class struggle" between 1948 and 1958—which is to say after liberation and after the old social structures had already been disposed of. This intensification had a much stronger effect whenever it was carried out at the expense of Romanians in those areas where chauvinist or neo-chauvinist Hungarian elements had dug in who were unfavorably disposed or even opposed to fraternization through work both in government and party leadership positions and in the security services. One could counter this observation by saying that this also applies to regions and levels in which Romanians held certain positions. This is only partially true, since the main concern in Romania in our time as well as in Romania during the period of the "maximum intensification of the class struggle" was—as it is today—scrupulously to respect the rights granted to the other nationalities—which were now no longer referred to as "minorities" in order to do away with every vestige of distinction and not to create any problems in this sphere. This concern was combined in a most natural way with the struggle against any revival whatever of chauvinism which, however, was overdone to a certain extent in that it ultimately led to the other nationalities being treated differently

from the Romanians. This served to undermine the desired unity and equality and to upset a necessary and obligatory balance in that some were granted more and more privileges so that "things would be all right" and there would be "no problems." This, for example, resulted in the Hungarians in Romania having more printed matter (magazines and book titles) available to them than we Romanians—in terms of their share of the total population, of course. Perhaps that is not all that bad. What is bad is that some existing, inalienable rights were often expanded under pressure; that claims and demands tend to grow in direct proportion to the extent to which they are fulfilled. (But what will we Romanians do, if one day we are asked in the most democratic way possible to strap our rivers on our backs and leave our country? Will we meet that demand, too, or what else would we do?)

The claim is made—openly or in some veiled way; by alluding to it or by exaggerating actual events and making them appear bigger than life—that we Romanians have been in the majority here since time immemorial but that it was the Hungarians who played the civilizing and constructive role. The viewpoint on which these claims are based is that of revisionism and irredentism, of injustice and pride founded on a kind of "incompatibility complex" which is not peculiar to the common people but has always been characteristic of certain eccentric and almost reactionary, chauvinist or neo-chauvinist "leaders." As for the Hungarian people, it has been in numerous fights for freedom; it has its own clearly defined place in Europe and its own past and history which is not in need of correction or exaggeration...

For the spiritual foundation of Transylvania is profoundly Romanian and will remain so. Foreign oppression could never destroy it; it could only subject it to extreme pressure through bans and long-lasting barbaric persecution...

#### Revisionist Policies of Kadar Government [pp 132-135]

Let us not forget that there have been and there still are revisionist trends with regard to Transylvania and that irredentism raises its head from time to time both nearby and further away as well as outside [our borders]. Public statements refer to unity and fraternity but behind these statements the dagger of meanness can be seen. Irredentism makes use—either in hidden ways or openly and quite shamelessly—of all kinds of social and political frustrations by turning them to its own advantage for the purpose of altering the natural course of history. In some respects, the present situation—all social and political differences to the contrary notwithstanding—seems to resemble the situation following World War I, specifically in the years after 1930, when almost the same absurd slogans were bandied about and fingers were always pointing in the direction of Transylvania which Hungary was said to need in order to become "great." But even together with Transylvania Hungary would only seem to be great with the aid of oppression the use of violence. It always made bad mistakes when it failed to recognize the natural and legitimate rights of the Romanians—and of other peoples—and thereby under-



mined its own interests as she did in 1848 and again in 1940 when the price paid for tearing Transylvania asunder was Hungary's own independence and freedom.

Without a doubt the political regime in Hungary today is totally different from that of the past because present-day Hungary is a socialist state just like Romania. But for this very reason it seems strange that words like these should have been uttered at an important meeting in Budapest in 1966: "The treaty of Trianon was an imperialist dictate which resulted in the dismemberment of Hungary and gave Transylvania to Romania." The same idea which is unjust and more than unfounded was taken up by the same speaker [namely Janos Kadar] again in a speech to the Helsinki conference. "In our century," he said, "the territory of vanquished Hungary was reduced by a third following the senseless sacrifice in World War I..." In this instance, he referred not only to Romania but to other countries as well. But what he failed to mention was that Hungary—"Greater Hungary" or "Thousand Year-Old Hungary"—at one time ruled over foreign territory the population of which—Romanians, Slovaks, Croats and Czechs—outnumbered the indigenous Hungarian population and thus made the collapse of 1918 inevitable. In fact, it was not a /dismemberment/ perpetrated by others but a /disintegration/ originating on the inside. It was not until the Austro-Hungarian Empire collapsed that Hungary became what it truly is, if I am permitted to say so.

Back then in 1918, an artificial system collapsed in which a national minority remained in power by force and particularly during the last phase by a brutal policy of denationalization while the non-Hungarian elements were oppressed and persecuted for one reason alone: for wanting to speak their own language and to preserve their national characteristics—not in opposition to the Hungarians whose right to exist no one had denied but in opposition to a trend toward despotism which was in reverse proportion to the numbers and natural rights of the Hungarian people; in opposition to the Hungarian ruling classes, to Hungarian feudalism and Hungarian reaction.

For that reason any public or private revisionist claim by a Hungarian has a strange ring to it because /history/ has said the last word in this complex, if not tragic issue; because these claims and chauvinist activities in the thirties and forties finally led to the events of 1940, to the crimes and atrocities committed in the fall of that year. Later, dozens and hundreds of people were tortured and murdered all over northern Transylvania—in Ip, in Treznea and elsewhere—as in the days of the barbarian invaders. Now, "modern methods" were used and the acts were based on a "national ideology" which had been accurately spelled out in a pamphlet written by a certain Duecsoe Csaba and entitled "Without Mercy." He was a hack writer, to be sure, but that does not alter the actual course of events or the consequences of this revisionist revanchism. In this pamphlet, which was part of a comprehensive racist propaganda campaign, there was a quotation from Torday, a member of Levente. "I am not waiting for revenge to be taken," it said. "I will not wait. I will do in every Wallachian who crosses my path. I will kill every one of them. No quarter will be given. At night, I will put the torch to

the Wallachian villages. I will put the entire population to the sword; I will poison their wells and even kill the babies in their cribs. I will exterminate this base, predatory people root and branch. There will be no compassion for anyone—not for the children in their cribs; not for mothers about to bear children! I will kill every last Wallachian and after that there will be just one nationality in Transylvania—the Hungarian nationality, my nation! I will kill off all the future Horeas and Closcas! No mercy will be shown..."

All this indeed is part of the past and it would more than necessary to forget it once and for all. But it is impossible to do so in reality and for all time as long as things are constantly stirred up in a certain way in certain quarters—without any brutality, to be sure, but in a more modern idiom more suited to the present era. But even then, the "Without Mercy" stage was not immediately reached. Initially, there was talk of "discrimination against Hungary" as a consequence of the Trianon treaty. There was not a word about the great popular assembly of Alba Iulia where an entire people spoke—not just one individual; not just some good or outstanding political figure but an entire people of peasants and workers who no longer wanted to live under the yoke of Hungarian oppression but wanted to be free and unite with the "fatherland." Then, too, the publicists took the stage initially—the common everyday mercenaries of chauvinism as well as the elite variety of same. They were followed by the so-called historians who dug up long obsolete theories and tried to prove what had never been proven and in fact will never be proven: that Transylvania was devoid of people at the time the Hungarians entered it and that the Romanians did not make an appearance there until later at a time not exactly defined and coming from a direction that could not be pinpointed, either. After all, there is not the slightest indication of their arrival anywhere—neither in folklore, nor in their own fairy tales; neither in heaven, nor on earth.

After the publicists and historians or perhaps alongside them or even ahead of them came the politicians—the representatives of the most reactionary circles—who were capable of entering into an alliance with anyone just so they might regain their lost privileges up to and including their castles and huge land holdings. And then—after a geographically and ethnically homogeneous region which had always been preponderantly Romanian was cut in two—the Levente hordes and the Lumpen guards marched onto the field and started to kill people—Romanians but not only Romanians—by shooting them, stabbing them to death, hanging them and cutting them open and set fire to buildings and churches and extinguished Romanian names on grave crosses and stabbed pregnant women with their bayonets, carrying babies around on the points of their bayonets. They used human beings as draught animals and yoked them; they cut off their tongues and ears; they toppled statues and destroyed road signs in an attempt to do what the worst of the precursors had been unable to do in a thousand years of oppression—namely to destroy a 1000 year-old people which no one and no thing had been able to destroy until then—not because it was superior to other peoples—we Romanians never thought of ourselves in such a way—but because it had a firm belief in its star and

still does; because its love for its homeland is not based on hate and enmity; because it is both tolerant and forbearing—far too tolerant and frequently too forbearing at times but even this has turned into a character trait, into a sign of strength, an inextinguishable hallmark of a particular people which has been tied and will remain tied forever to a certain locality, a certain region and a certain country on the strength of having been born here and having died here.

#### Historians Quarrel over "Balance of Guilt" [pp 181-185]

In the most favorable instance a kind of "balance of guilt" is established with regard to this important historic event [of 1918] and with respect to other events either recent or relatively far removed in time. In speaking about events in 1848, for example—if the abovementioned accusations are not cited—it is said that both the Hungarian and the Romanian revolutionaries made mistakes; that the ones were rather nationalistic in outlook and the others no less so. But one neglects to clarify that defense of the right to live does not necessarily result in nationalistic attitudes but that the oppression of a nation (by several nations) does tend to spawn nationalism and increasingly aggressive chauvinism, since an unjustified appropriation of property can only be realized on the basis of an aggressive act...

If the "balance of guilt" operates in such a way, however, as was spelled out in one of the reviews of Szaraz Gyoergy's drama "The Time of the Verdict" (which appeared in ELET ES IRODALOM No 3, 1980) it means that in that particular instance, too [the revolution of 1848] substantial tribute is paid to a number of old and hardened prejudices and to an old and debilitating quarrel. Indeed, the same tribute is paid whenever talk gets around to what went on in "northern Transylvania" during the Horthy occupation either here in our own country or in the friendly neighboring country of Hungary. With a certain innocence we are told that the very same things took place in "southern Transylvania" as well—which is not true as can easily be ascertained by objectively comparing the "one matter" with the "other matter."

It stands to reason that I do not intend to defend the Antonescu regime. I have already spoken of the evil things he did to Romania but I am unwilling to accept such a "balance of guilt"—not because I happen not to like the concept but because it never really existed. For the same reason, I am unable to accept the system of "terminological constructs" which is resorted to mostly whenever talk gets around to what went on in Transylvania following the unification [of 1918] with the problem being approached from a different point of view this time.

The existence and continuation of oppression and exploitation by the Austro-Hungarian rulers is admitted but one does not forget to add that Transylvania was subjected to oppression and exploitation after 1918 as well—the only difference being that others now benefitted from it. In this connection, one conveniently forgets to say a single word about the agrarian reforms which provided the peasants with land and did away with the last remaining

bastions of the old and obstinate Hungarian brand of feudalism. Through unification, a different social and political framework was created which was superior to the one that had existed before and favorable preconditions were established for far-reaching, comprehensive development commensurate with the important resources of Transylvania, [a region] which was able to develop fully inside and alongside Romania which proved once again what did not need to be proven any more—namely that Transylvania was not a "national conglomerate" but a part of that very country from which it could not be separated through oppression and from which no one will separate it in the future even if there are some pointing a finger in this direction—people from Australia or South Africa, with the help of Hungarian television, to be sure. This type of revisionist and neo-revisionist and of irredentist and neo-irredentist activity is doomed to failure and futility...

For this very reason the excessive concern of some publicists and historians both inside and outside Hungary over the fate of the Hungarian minority in Romania is totally unjustified; nor is there any justification for solutions (and proposals for solutions) such as this one: "In socialist states, territorial autonomy and the federalist system constitute the framework and the means of resolving the national issue in every instance..." Such [proposals] to all intents and purposes touch on the gray area of interference. I say this because Romania is a unified national state 90 percent of whose population is Romanian (in Transylvania the corresponding figure is 75 percent) alongside which other nationalities live and work. The solution of the national issue not only concerns Transylvania; it concerns Romania as a whole—not only the Hungarians, the Szeklers, the Jews and the Bulgarians. It concerns us all because the happiness and distress of each and every one of us depends on the happiness or distress of every other person regardless of nationality...

#### FOOTNOTES

1. NEPSZABADSAG, 17 Jun 77, p 3
2. MAGYAR HEMZET, 25 Dec 77 and 1 Jan 78
3. Zsigmond Pal Pach, "A Dunanal. Itt elned kell" [Along the Danube—Here You Must Live], ELET ES IRODALOM, 8 Jul 78, p 5
4. NEPSZABADSAG, 13 Mar 82
5. Bucharest, Ed Sport-Turism, 1982
6. Pal Koeteles in TISZATAJ 36, 1982, No 9 pp 51-57; Gyorgy Szaraz in VALOSAG 25, 1982 No 10, pp 95-105
7. Koeteles, op cit, p 57



8. Gyöergy Szaraz, "Egy elöitelet nyomában" [On the Trail of a Prejudice] Budapest, Magvetöe 1976
9. Koeteles, op cit, p 57
10. Koeteles, op cit, p 52
11. Szaraz, op cit, p 95
12. Koeteles, op cit, p 53
13. Ibid
14. Szaraz, op cit, p 100
15. Ibid, p 99
16. Koeteles, op cit, p 55
17. Szaraz, op cit, p 99. Also cf Gerhard Seewann, "Geschichtswissenschaft und Politik in Ungarn 1950-1980. Die Historiographie zu Mittelalter und Neuzeit" [Historiography and Political Life in Hungary 1950-1980. Historiography of the Middle Ages and Modern Era] SÜEDOTS-FORSCHUNGEN No 41 1982, pp 261-323
18. Koeteles, op cit, p 52
19. Quoted by Szaraz, p 96
20. Ibid
21. Szaraz, op cit, p 97
22. Ibid
23. Koeteles, op cit, p 56. Comparison of Kadar statement as cited by Lancranjan and Koeteles with original text published by NEPSZABADSAG on 1 Aug 75 proves correctness of Koeteles contention.
24. Szaraz, op cit, p 97
25. Quoted by Szaraz, p 96
26. Szaraz, op cit, p 98
27. Szaraz, op cit, p 102
28. Ibid, p 102f

29. Szaraz, op cit, p 103; Koeteles, op cit, p 57
30. Quoted by Szaraz, p 104
31. Szaraz, op cit, p 104
32. Szaraz, op cit, p 104. The two Ceausescu quotes appear on p 102 and p 103

9478

CSO: 2300/230

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

GDR ARMY DAY--On the occasion of the 27th anniversary of the GDR People's National Army, Col Gen Constantin Olteanu, minister of national defense of the Socialist Republic of Romania sent a congratulatory telegram to Army General Heinz Hoffmann, minister of national defense of the GDR. On the same occasion, the GDR military, air and naval attache to Bucharest, Col Joachim Schroeter, met with cadres and cadets of the "Aurel Vlaicu" Military School for active aviation officers. The participants in the meeting viewed a photo exhibition presenting aspects of the life and activities of the GDR troops, and documentary films. [Text] [AU030816 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 1 Mar 83 p 5]

CSO: 2700/193

## MINISTER OBZINA DISCUSSES FEBRUARY 1948

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 4, 14 Feb 83 pp 3-5

[Article by Jaromir Obzina, member of CPCZ Central Committee, CSSR Minister of the Interior: "Creative Application of General Laws of Socialist Revolution and of Soviet Experiences"]

[Text] In the history of all nations and countries there are historical events which are a source of enlightenment and political wisdom, a source of creative power and inspiration for new ascending generations. It is so, because they provide a concentrated reflection of the national character, the philosophy of history of a given nation which is formed primarily by the interests of the ruling class and provides their reflection in the superstructure and in social consciousness as a whole. Among such historic events in our country belongs without a doubt the establishment of an independent Slavonic state, later the Hussite period, national revival, establishment of the Czechoslovak republic and, most of all, the Victorious February which became the beginning of the newest chapter of Czechoslovak history. Its tremendous historical significance was characterized by the general secretary of CPCZ Central Committee C. Gustav Husak: "February 1948 became the decisive milestone of our modern history. The problem of political power was unequivocally decided in favor of the working class and of all workers. It thwarted the plans of international as well as of internal reactionary elements for returning Czechoslovakia to capitalist conditions. Our country definitively took its stand among the ranks of the developing socialist community. Solid friendship and alliance with our liberator and most loyal friend, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, became a firm foundation of our policy, a guarantee of independence and peaceful socialistic development of our country."

The past 35 years convincingly showed the historical significance of the February victory of the working class and of working people as the beginning of the period of socialism in the history of our nations and Czechoslovak nationality which is irrevocably connected with the policy of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and with forming of the communist socioeconomic formation in world history.

Among the glorious aspects of the history of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia--the inspirator and organizer of February--belongs without a doubt the fact that in dealing with all problems imposed upon it ever since its



foundation by the revolutionary period it skillfully combined the political class interests of the working class with the interests of the people and national interests with international obligations. That also constitutes the source of its strength and authority among our people and in the international revolutionary and progressive movement. Thus came about formation of the tradition that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia guarded as the most precious possession in the past and keeps alertly guarding to this day. It is a tradition based on recognition and creative implementation of Marx-Leninism, general laws of socialist revolution and construction of socialism and on systematic and well-thought out implementation of the experiences of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Soviet Union itself in everyday life and in programmed political concepts. This tradition is inseparably connected with the personality and political activities of Klement Gottwald and his struggle against and victory over opportunism in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia imprinted into the history of the party by its fifth congress in 1929. For that reason it is also personified as the tradition of Gottwald's policy of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The tradition of Gottwald's policy of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia:

1. is a tradition of friendship and alliance with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in which our party has always seen and sees its example and model and which it honored and keeps on honoring as the most experienced party of the international communist movement;
2. is a tradition of loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has proven its maturing into a Marxist-Leninist party and its internationalism in practice. It kept honestly and sincerely overcoming any opportunism and revisionism in its ranks, remnants and effects of social democratism and offered resolute resistance to both despotism of power and political persecution on the part of bourgeois state power as well as the bourgeois reformism which in our country took the form of Masarykism. Face to face with these realities the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia imbued by its struggle in the working class, in the people and nations of our country its program's clear political line: toward victory of the socialist revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat, for building of socialism, friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union.

With equal resolution it rejected cheap ostentatious patriotism and nationalism when in the 30's it organized ideologically aware workers and the working public of Czechoslovakia under the vivid political slogan: "Not Masaryk, but Lenin is our program" and patiently, persistently kept explaining that for a communist and an ideologically aware member of the working class there were and are no national interests which would not incorporate the idea of subjugation to the interests of the working class.

We remained loyal to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism also during the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution and in building of socialism after 1945 it became necessary to nip in the bud all the false trends proclaiming a specific "Czechoslovak path to socialism" as a temporary remnant of the effects of nationalism in the workers' and communist

movement in our country and embark on a complicated, demanding--and not always error-free implemented--path to the Czechoslovak socialist federation. This was called for also by the dialectics of objective development and transition of the dictatorship of the proletariat from the national framework of the Soviet Union into the international framework. "Struggle against this evil," envisioned V.I. Lenin "against deeply rooted small bourgeois nationalistic prejudices is becoming more urgent, more urgent is becoming the task of making the transition of the dictatorship of the proletariat from national dictatorship (i.e., existing in a single country and not suited for determining worldwide policy) into international dictatorship (i.e., dictatorship of the proletariat of at least several advanced countries capable of exercising a decisive influence on overall world policy)."

After 1949 and primarily in the 60's it became imperative to overcome the most varied opportunistic, revisionistic and bourgeois effects which culminated in a political coalition of rightist forces in the party and antisocialist forces in the society which precipitated a crisis in the society as a whole and embarked on an open confrontation and an attempt at a contrarevolutionary coup in 1968.

3. The tradition of Gottwald's policy is expressed in the uniform process of bolshevization of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, in the February victory of 1948 and in working out and implementing the strategic policy for building socialism adopted by the Ninth CPCZ congress in 1949. These three significant political facts are mutually inseparably interwoven.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia highly appreciates the process of its bolshevization, because it was specifically this process through which it ripened into a truly Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party capable of preparing and staging a victorious socialist revolution and building socialism. Without bolshevization of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia there would be neither the February, nor building of socialism in Czechoslovakia. Even today we recognize bolshevization not as a mere historical episode and an embellishment in the history of our party, but recognize its general, objectively valid principles as a lasting enlightenment calling for a level of ideological, political, organization and action-oriented unity of the party that would be capable of leading the working class to the final victory--to communism. That is the legacy of the party's bolshevization to the present time.

What bolshevization of our party did, does and will continue to mean to us is clarified by the documents of the Communist International and by the convincing words of Klement Gottwald:

--bolshevization of the party is "...a summation and application of the experiences of the Communist Party of Russia (bolshevist) in three Russian revolutions ...and experiences of each subsequent section (of the Comintern) ...with serious battles behind them;"

--"bolshevization is the art of applying general principles of Leninism to a specific given situation in one or another country;"

--"bolshevization is a continuous process in the development of the party, never completed, never incomplete, just as development of society is continuous and not completed."

Bolshevization of a communist party means making it into a party of scientific communism, a party developing and enriching Marxism-Leninism by new knowledge and scientific generalization of the practical aspects of international class struggle which develops in consonance with objective knowledge and political interests of the working class--simply a truly revolutionary, Leninist party. That is why today, the same as in the past, the experiences of the political category of bolshevization are topical and attractive to our party and other workers' parties regardless of how these political principles are referred to in general and in their sum. That is why we--Czechoslovak communists--proudly subscribe to the process of bolshevization and are aware of the irreplaceable value of that experience for the maturity and level of accomplishment of our party.

February 1948 was a political master stroke of the working people of Czechoslovakia, of the working class, our party, its central committee and of Klement Gottwald personally. The leader of a victorious people in February could be only a politically mature party which underwent the stage of bolshevization and mastered its basic principles, because it is a historical fact of our national as well as the world's history that Czechoslovak bourgeoisie was utterly defeated by the people's February victory, that the development and sway of national and democratic revolution grew into a victory of socialist revolution in Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovakia embarked on the Leninist path of building socialism.

The historical and political significance of the February victory is constituted by the fact that:

1. 1948 marked the end of the capitalist epoch in Czechoslovakia;
2. as of 1948 all political power was transferred into the hands of the ruling working class and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia took over fully and completely the responsibility for the development of our country, our nations, our nationality;
3. this victory of Czechoslovak communists became a significant factor in the developing worldwide socialist revolution and the origin of the socialist community, realistically and objectively documenting the international validity of Marxism-Leninism even for industrially advanced countries.

The general policy line for building of socialism in Czechoslovakia was adopted by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia at its Ninth congress in 1949. The victorious socialist revolution, the newly ascending ruling working class were provided with a program understandable to all the Czechoslovak people through the renowned 10 points of Klement Gottwald.

As communists we are proud that our people managed to not only be victorious in a socialist revolution, but to also create and implement a realistic

program for the building of socialism the complexity and thoroughness serves to this day as an example of the correct determination of strategic and tactical tasks.

For these reasons, bolshevization of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the February victory of 1948 and the program for building of socialism adopted by the 9th congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia constitute logically and historically the dominant elements expressing in their sum the political contents of the tradition of Gottwald's policy of our party.

This policy the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, its central committee and leading cadre have always been learning from the classics of Marxism-Leninism, from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist International, the Information Bureau of Communist Parties founded in 1947 at the consultations of nine communist and workers' parties in Warsaw. This policy is learned by and its formation is being enhanced by the CPCZ at the present with its experience and knowledge at world and international consultations and conferences of communist and workers' parties. We strive for implementation of this policy through our daily activities in carrying out the tasks promulgated by the 16th congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia for building, defense and protection of the developed socialist society. These features of our policy were in the past and are at the present they key cause of hatred; hostility and struggle against the Communist Party on the part of domestic and foreign bourgeoisie, exploiting ruling classes and their power apparatus, primarily the most aggressive imperialist countries. That is also the key reason why specifically the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia never was and is not a favorite of any parties in which there is a prevalence of opportunism, revisionism and a shameful relation to or even betrayal of international interests. Thus it is entirely logical from the political viewpoint and historically consistent in following up the tradition and experiences of the Communist International and Gottwald's policy of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia that we base our efforts on the general laws of class struggle, building of socialism and communism.

From the historical moment when socialism became a science, the only possible and correct course of action is to approach it as a science. As there can be no scientific knowledge and science without objective laws and their true and truthful perception, so there cannot be scientific socialism and an ideologically aware, advanced revolutionary workers' movement based on it where its laws are being rejected, disputed, ignored. It is to the historical merit of the international consultation of communist and workers parties in Moscow in 1957 that the representatives of the participating parties did by formulation of the general laws of socialist revolution and building of socialism generalize the experiences of the international communist movement and enhance theoretical knowledge of scientific socialism and communism. They reached in common the conclusion that the general laws of socialist revolution and of building of socialism are:

1. the avantgarde role of the working class led by a Marxist-Leninist party in its struggle for the victory of socialist revolution and establishing the sovereign power of the dictatorship of the proletariat;



2. political alliance of the working class with the basic masses of farmers and other ranks of the working public under the leading role of the working class and of its revolutionary party;
3. liquidation of capitalist ownership and introduction of social ownership of the means of production;
4. socialist reorganization of agriculture;
5. planned development of the national economy as a whole and of its components which, in keeping with objective laws of economy, is oriented toward the building of socialism and communism, toward improving the living standard of the workers;
6. carrying out socialist revolution in the sphere of ideology and culture and creation of our own socialist intelligentsia devoted to the working class, to the working public and to socialism;
7. liquidation of any kind of nationalistic persecution, installing equality of rights and fraternal cooperation among nations;
8. defense and protection of accomplishments of socialism against any attempts by domestic or foreign enemies;
9. solidarity of the working class with workers of all the countries of the world and a systematic policy of proletarian internationalism.

The struggle for purity and orientation to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and its political program based on scientific discovery is not only of perceptual,gnoseological significance, but, and primarily, of extraordinary political importance from the viewpoint of responsibility to the working class and the working public. We are aware that this knowledge was acquired at the price of experience paid for by sacrifices and blood. These scientific facts acquired through hard struggle that are expressed in the general laws of socialist revolution and of building socialism, were preceded by decades of pitiless class struggles. For this reason we remind in this context all those who participate in creation and implementation of the revolutionary policy of the working class--be it in socialist or capitalistic countries--of the words of Clara Zetkin: "Workers must pay with their freedom and life for our policy and its mistakes." Therefore we resent a condescending attitude toward revolutionary science and its laws. In reality such an attitude is from a personal viewpoint an expression of extreme conceit and, from the political viewpoint, an inadmissible irresponsibility calling for retribution.

For us--Czechoslovak communists--the general laws of socialist revolution and of building socialism remain even today a guarantee of the correct, tried path forward and the most valuable legacy of Klement Gottwald. As his political last will sound for us his words spoken on 21 January 1953 at the occasion of the festive inauguration of the Museum of V.I. Lenin in the House of the People in Prague: "...the free Czechoslovak people, who in 1945 embarked on a new era of their history, fully accept Lenin as their greatest teacher, accept the banner of Leninism as their own banner.

Yes, we are fully aware that the only reason why our working people became victorious, the only reason why we defeated capitalism was because we followed the path of Lenin.... And only along this path can we attain new victories and make our country rich and happy and preserve peace for our homes.

However, that puts on us the obligation to forever and under any circumstances remain faithful to the Leninist banner. And that also obligates us to constantly and ever deeper learn the teachings of Leninism."

The legacy also leads us in that direction of today's 35th anniversary of the victorious February, its significance, its place in history of revolutionary struggles of our people, our nations in the context of the worldwide revolutionary development, primarily the Great October Revolution, recognized by the general secretary of CPCZ Central Committee C. Gustav Husak by his words: "At today's festive occasion we particularly point out the deep ideological and historical connection between the Great October and our February. For us, Czechoslovak communists, it was of irreplaceable significance that in our struggle for finally deciding the problem of power in favor of the working class and of the working public, we were able to rely on experience acquired in three Russian revolutions, base our actions on Leninist ideas regarding the relation of democratic and socialist revolution, draw on the revolutionary example and experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Creative implementation of these experiences under our conditions will enable us to successfully deal with the tasks at this stage of our revolutionary struggle."

8204

CSO: 2400/216

WFTU INVOLVED IN PEACE MOVEMENT EFFORTS

Prague PRACE in Czech 21 Apr 83 p 3

[PRACE interview with Viliam Kozik, secretary of the Central Council of Trade Unions: "To Avert a Nuclear Catastrophe"; Date and Place not Given]

[Text] [Question] What was on the agenda of the 35th meeting of the WFTU General Council?

[Answer] This was the first council meeting following the 10th Trade Union World Congress, and its agenda dealt with key current problems, first of all, the struggle for peace and disarmament, the struggle against unemployment, and enhancing the action unity of trade unions and workers. The general council session was preceded by a meeting of the WFTU Bureau, chaired by WFTU Vice Chairman Karel Hoffmann.

Opening the general council deliberations, WFTU General Secretary Ibrahim Zakarija stated: "Overall developments in the international situation have confirmed the conclusions of the Havana congress from which stems the WFTU action program for 1983-85." The general council meeting particularly emphasized the need for more effective joint action of all the forces of the international trade union movement in the struggle for the preservation of peace throughout the world. This requirement is sharply underlined by the increasingly dangerous imperialist policies which under the leadership of the most reactionary circles in the United States, headed by the Reagan administration, are bringing the world to the brink of nuclear catastrophe.

Another point on the general council's agenda was the approach of the trade unions to the resolution of the problem of unemployment. The council emphasized the need to organize even more effective action. Both the opening report and subsequent discussion contributions cited facts on what unemployment means to millions of workers. Despite the various prognoses prompted by wishful thinking, unemployment is on the rise, in the developed capitalist states the number of unemployed has reached more than 30 million, and if we include the partially employed, the figure grows to more than 50 million people of productive age.

It has again been confirmed that feverish arms production and a militarist course in the economy impacts heavily on the backs of the workers, fails to

resolve the unemployment problem and, on the contrary, is one of the main reasons why unemployment is intensifying, why enormous sums in the state budgets intended for health care, education and social needs generally are being withdrawn.

Without exception, all discussion contributions stressed the need to strengthen trade union activities on behalf of peace. The entire course of the general council's deliberations had a constructive, substantive and creative character.

Our own delegation, representing the Central Council of Trade Unions [URO], participated actively in the council deliberations and in all other related activities. Its approach and concrete proposals contributed in an important manner to the success of the session.

[Question] How did the general council's deliberations view the forthcoming World Assembly for Peace and Life against Nuclear War?

[Answer] All speakers focused their attention on the struggle for peace and disarmament. WFTU General Secretary Ibrahim Zakatija also dealt extensively with this topic. He emphasized that a joint approach and action in the struggle for peace and disarmament, against the deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe, is one of the principal tasks of the trade union movement in Europe and the world over. He devoted great attention to WFTU participation in the preparation for the most important peace demonstration this year, the World Assembly for Peace and Life against Nuclear War, which will be held in Prague in June. He underlined the need for active participation of all trade unionists in this assembly, especially at the trade union forum organized on this occasion.

The general council adopted an appeal to all trade unionists for broad participation in the World Assembly, a call addressed to all working people to participate in the preparations and on the day of its opening, 21 June, organize mass demonstrations to express their determination to live in peace and security.

The presentation of the URO delegation also devoted much attention to the assembly of peace forces. We informed the council of the preparations for the trade union forum, the organization of which has been entrusted to the URO. In addition, all participants in the general council's deliberations received detailed written materials on the program and organization of the assembly, on the agenda of the trade union forum, and other organizational affairs. The URO delegation also stressed trade union participation in the peace forces' assembly during bilateral discussions with members of the general council. These conversations focused on both substantive and organizational aspects of the trade union forum.

[Question] Did the council take a stand on the abduction of Czechoslovak citizens by the antigovernment organization UNITA in Angola?



[Answer] The WFTU general council approved a resolution addressed to South Africa in which it expressed deep concern over the racist policy of apartheid and demanded, among other things, the release of the Czechoslovak and Portuguese citizens detained in Angola. The resolution also emphasizes the responsibility of the imperialist circles in the United States and other capitalist countries for incitement, support and conduct of aggression and terrorist acts against the progressive frontline regimes of South Africa. In this connection, the general council resolution denounced as a criminal act the detention of Czechoslovak and Portuguese specialists and their families by the anti-government organization UNITA. The council called on trade unions and working people of the whole world to take active steps toward the liberation of all political and trade union prisoners of the racist Pretoria regime, as well as the detained Czechoslovak and Portuguese citizens and their families.

WFTU General Secretary Ibrahim Zakarija in his report also spoke on behalf of a speedy release of the detained experts in Angola.

[Question] What was the activity of our delegation in the deliberations of the general council?

[Answer] Our participation in the WFTU general council session was fully utilized by the URO delegation for many discussions with the delegates present. We actually held more than 60 such bilateral conversations. Their content included assessment of the level of mutual cooperation and its future development. The preparations, content and organization of the trade union forum at the assembly of peace forces, was also in the fore of our attention. These discussions showed that trade unionists are ready to send their representatives to the assembly and through their activity significantly contribute to its success. In the course of these conversations, we also appealed to members of the general council to do everything in their power for the release of the Czechoslovak and Portuguese citizens detained in Angola. Our effort in this direction met with full understanding and support.

[Question] How do you characterize the adopted documents?

[Answer] Among the many documents adopted at the general council meeting, the dominant position is held by the WFTU appeal for broad participation in the Assembly for Peace and Life against Nuclear War, a document on unemployment and the need for trade union action, and the WFTU action program for 1983-85. In addition, we approved 12 resolutions expressing the general council's position on the most burning current problems, i.e., Lebanon and Palestine, the situation in Central America, and the problem of Korea. Also adopted was a general declaration of solidarity with the struggle of working people and nations, expressing solidarity with all those who are struggling for peace, against imperialism, for national self-determination, democracy and social progress.

The general council deliberations and the adopted conclusions, represent an important step in the current stage of further intensifying and strengthening

the action unity of the world trade union movement in the struggle against monopoly capital and against armament. They offer great incentive for mutual understanding and cooperation among trade union movements of different tendencies.

For our trade unions, the conclusions of the general council provide many stimuli both for our work and for the preparation and effort to ensure success for the Assembly of Peace Forces to be held in Prague.

9496

CSO: 2400/246

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CIVIL DEFENSE, RED CROSS EFFORTS OVER 25 YEARS REVIEWED

East Berlin ZEITSCHRIFT FUER MILITAERMEDIZIN in German Vol 24 No 1, Feb 83  
(signed to press 4 Oct 82 ) pp 13-15

[Article by Civil Defense Col D. Letz, MD: "Twenty-Five Years of Civil Defense of the German Democratic Republic--25 Years of Consistent Effort for the Medical Protection of the Population"]

[Text] On 11 February 1983, the members of the Civil Defense and the volunteer workers, together with the workers of our country, celebrated the 25th anniversary of the Civil Defense organization.

In accordance with the political task of the Civil Defense of the German Democratic Republic to protect our country's citizens against the aftermath of catastrophes and the effects of potential enemy weapons, the organization of medical protection for the population is gaining tremendously in importance. In principle this means guaranteeing health protection even under the most complicated conditions of modern warfare--the direct endangering of the population through means of aggression by the adversary.

In retrospective it is possible to establish that many thousands of colleagues in the health system and members of the German Red Cross of the GDR have achieved great results within the ranks of the Civil Defense, in the education and research centers and in the health institutions, for the purpose of establishing and constantly developing medical protection for the population. Their voluntary active cooperation, their extensive involvement during drills and accidents are an expression of their deep attachment to civil defense and its humanistic concerns. The knowledge of the Civil Defense of the Soviet Union was an invaluable aid in the establishment of the theoretical foundations and in their practical implementation.

This day of honoring simultaneously constitutes an obligation to critically evaluate what has been achieved. Furthermore, we must determine the measures which are necessary in order to continue to perfect the medical protection of the population.

The need to guarantee extensively the defense preparedness in all areas of our society becomes particularly clear as a result of the unchecked aggressive Reagan administration.

The colleagues in the health system and the members of the German Red Cross have also understood this and know that real socialism must defend itself. The numerous tasks undertaken by medical groups in honor of the 25th anniversary are an eloquent expression of this understanding and document their high degree of defense preparedness.

Based on the present preparedness, it is now necessary to guide the many initiatives into the proper channels and to make a measurable contribution toward perfecting this medical protection.

It is an essential task for the government leadership always to come up with new ways for mobilizing the workers in this respect. The basic precondition for this is deep understanding of our socialist defense policy. In political and ideological work it is chiefly a question of constantly strengthening the conviction that this policy serves to guarantee and maintain peace. A permanently high degree of preparedness by the Soviet Union and the other nations subscribing to the Warsaw Pact is the most significant prerequisite for preventing the aggressive forces of monopolistic capitalism from being able to implement their policies, even with the means of war.

By assisting the medical protection every citizen therefore contributes to the maintenance and guarantee of peace. In so doing one must always stress the fundamentally humanistic character of socialist civil defense, which is diametrically opposed to the civil defense of the imperialist nations, which is firmly entrenched in the system of material and ideological preparation for war.

Beyond this, we should not forget that even today, in peacetime, civil defense measures and active cooperation by the citizens constitute an important contribution to the protection of life and socialist achievements, and to safety and security in socialism. By training the population to give first aid, by including these problems in our educational system and by preparing our colleagues for complicated situations, we improve the health protection of the population as a whole and we are better equipped to deal with serious accidents and natural catastrophes.

The effects of modern means of aggression are devastating. Downgrading these weapons, as well as carelessness concerning the defense against them, would have unimaginable consequences in the event of their use.

This is why the Soviet Union, together with all the socialist nations and progressive forces on our earth, is doing everything in order to outlaw the means of mass destruction and to abandon the arms race.

But as long as these weapons are stored in the arsenals of imperialism we are called upon to prepare all opportunities for protection. It would be a crime



to watch and do nothing, to stand idly by and leave our population unprepared and exposed to the effects of means of aggression.

Consequently, in our defense-political work it is necessary to convince our coworkers that the expertly and consciously prepared civil defense measures are capable of considerably reducing the effects of potential imperialist aggression and are essential preconditions for the maintenance and restoration of our citizens' health. Resignation and fatalism are not commensurate with objective conditions and are foreign to a socialist philosophy with a positive outlook on life.

The organization of the Civil Defense and, consequently, of the medical protection of the population is an expression of the great responsibility of the party of the working class and of the socialist state. However, the workers do not automatically or spontaneously understand their medical protection tasks. Political work is not a task for one day but a constant process. It must be included in the leadership and management activity and requires all leaders and physicians to precede with their example.

For the socialist physician's personality this means always identifying with the state, its politics and the national protection measures and acting to realize these measures. Furthermore, it is necessary that the social contexts become clear to the individual himself. In the end it is from this understanding that each person must draw the personal conclusion, that in the event of a catastrophe or enemy aggression the health and lives of the wounded are largely dependent on his ability to act correctly. This is why it is important, in particular for our physicians, to acquire extensive knowledge in the field of military medicine and to pass it on to his coworkers.

Training questions naturally play an important role in the further development of medical protection, because every increase in readiness commitment presumes higher quality in education. Experience shows that the best results are obtained when political and professional training and education are always combined and the training simulates reality.

In general, the task is to bring the workers gradually toward the actual conditions, under which the medical aid will be rendered after the deployment of means of aggression by the enemy. In that respect one must change one's thinking greatly, because the highly qualified medical facilities with the necessary instruments which we have today will not be available, as a rule.

We must be prepared for the fact that in case of imperialist aggression medical aid will have to be carried out under the most complicated conditions in quickly erected emergency hospitals or within mobile deployment forces outside the facilities.

Experience gathered in the major patriotic war of the Soviet Union, not including the results of earthquakes and catastrophes, prove the overwhelming importance of organization for medical aid in case of large numbers of wounded. This is decisive for efficient administration of aid. The leadership cadres, in particular, must be made aware of this. Theirs is the task of continuing to

perfect their organizational and leadership capabilities. Politically well-prepared drills, in which in addition to the practical capabilities of the forces the organizational principles are also tested, gain importance in this respect. They are a true criterion for a commitment to lasting readiness.

In this respect it continues to be important to include medical protection for the population in the activity of the Society for Military Medicine, something that has already been practiced for years, and the importance of specific influence by military physicians on military medical training and advanced training of workers, who are active in the health system and in the GDR Red Cross, continues to grow.

In recent years the tasks of medical protection of the population have been more fully included in the state leadership activity. The workers have increasingly realized that they can only fulfill their obligations to protect lives and health to the extent that they are capable of protecting themselves and of acting correctly in dangerous situations.

The results achieved in the socialist competition make it clear that the cooperation for medical protection of the population has also assumed mass character in the health system and in the GDR Red Cross. These groups have adopted forms of competition such as achievement comparisons between groups of strength and best performance movements, which demonstrated their usefulness in Civil Defense. Medical protection tasks are also being increasingly used to compete for the honorary title of "Collective of Socialist Work" and "Enterprise of Exemplary Order and Safety."

Despite extensive preparation we cannot avoid the hard fact that, in case large numbers of wounded occur after an enemy deploys means of mass destruction, not all the wounded can immediately be given necessary medical aid by the health system forces. This is why the capability of the population to administer first aid is of overwhelming importance. The officials and thousands of honorary members of the GDR Red Cross recognize this by establishing health units and by training all members as well as broad populations groups in the administration of first aid.

On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Civil Defense it is also possible to note a favorable result in the area of medical protection for the population, as a component of the Civil Defense.

In view of the acute international situation it is necessary to further perfect what has been achieved. In our uniformly organized state health system and in the existence of our independent socialist mass organization, the GDR Red Cross, which with its more than 600,000 members even today significantly helps guarantee the protection of health, we possess the necessary prerequisites for being able to render medical aid even under complicated conditions. We will solve the tasks of medical protection most effectively when, as before, we create by using the sources originating from the socialist society, and when everyone, by way of his state and social responsibilities, becomes actively involved in this area as well with political conviction and a high degree of professional knowledge and capability.

## SEEKING THE LIMITS OF ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, SOCIAL REFORM

### Limits of Hungarian Model

West Berlin DIE TAGESZEITUNG in German 13 Apr 83 p 3

[Unsigned article: "The Limits of the Hungarian 'Model'. The Crisis Forces a Search for New Social Consensus"]

[Text] These days, when the Central Committee of the Hungarian Worker's Party gets together for a meeting on the economic situation, it is confronted with a very contradictory situation. Hungary is supposed to be the realist-socialist showcase and yet, for the past few months, the Hungarian newspapers have fluctuated between self-praise and grave prognoses. On the one hand, political liberalization is being mentioned, on the other hand, the repressive measures against the intellectuals critical of the system have become noticeably more stringent during the past weeks and months. The Hungarian intellectuals fear that, with searches in Laszlo Rajk's "Samizdat-Boutique" (the only bookstore for literature critical of the system in a realist-socialistic country), harassment of its customers, confiscation of the opposition paper "Beszelo" and the temporary detention of leading opponents, after many years of semi-legal existence, the literary "underground" may become completely suppressed. In the following, we publish a report on the economic situation, social movements and the political reform discussion currently in progress, in Hungary.

In addition, we are documenting a discussion which took place Mar 16, 1983, at the University of Political Economics in Budapest. The Communist Youth League (KISZ) had invited Andras Knopp, the leading specialist on Problems of Opposition in the Department of Ideological-Cultural Affairs of the Central Committee of the Party. About 500 students appeared. This was the first time such a discussion took place. It remains to be seen whether it was held to provide political preparation for future repressive measures and quell displeasure preventively. Excerpts from this program are reported here.

## Political Solution?

West Berlin DIE TAGESZEITUNG in German 13 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by Witsch: "Political Solution to the Economic Crisis?"]

[Text] In an article on "Perspectives of the Hungarian Intellectuals", Mihaly Vajda, the philosopher, noted that the social consensus in Hungary is based on the renunciation by the Party to politicize everyday life, on the one hand and on the "increasing standard of living felt year by year", on the other hand. The consensus itself deep down is "passive loyalty" face to face to the power (EAST EUROPE INFO 1, 1982). This model of integration which had been supplemented with "small freedoms" (ex. foreign travel) appears slowly to reach the limits of its functioning ability. It follows already from the data provided by the state that the individual disposable real income has meanwhile decreased: in 1982, the nominal income of workers and employees rose by 5.6 percent with a 6.9 percent increase in the consumer price level. (Report of the Central Office of Statistics for 1982.) Thereby a tendency was reinforced which had already been noted in the two previous years. In an interview, Faluvegi, the Hungarian chief of planning, prepared the readers of the Party mouthpiece that much would be achieved during the next Five Year Plan (1981-85) if the level of 1980 could be maintained whereby unavoidably there also will be "strata and families... who, unfortunately, will live under worse conditions". He noted that "certain social tensions have become sharper" whereby renters and families with many children carried the greatest burden (BUDAPESTER RUNDSCHAU 51-52, 1982).

To analyze the causes of this economic situation would exceed the scope of this article. (The chief of planning mentioned mostly causes outside of the economy and blamed the Hungarian management mostly for its inadequate flexibility in adapting to the new situation.) But its consequences for the Hungarian model are difficult to foresee. Individual consumption, the most important instrument of the system for integration and motivation, no longer has a stimulating effect but rather is a cause of frustrations.

A direct economic consequence will be that the importance of the private economy, and of the gray and black market will considerably increase. Because, in their industries, the workers produce in part for this market (since 1981, this was even officially sanctioned outside of their working hours), additional work force will be drawn away from industry. But it is even more serious that thereby social cynicism will increase: they can maintain their standard of living only by finding some "supplementary earning" or by expanding the available job. This is connected with a sharp polarization of individual incomes which can not be reconciled with the socially dominant values. The total result is a decay of social values which, although difficult to prove empirically, is increasingly bemoaned by Hungarian intellectuals. Its indices are the increase in the rate of suicides, alcoholism, criminality (Budapest) and the number of "csoves" (a mixture of mostly adolescent gangs, drop-outs, rockers and punkers). Even though these are manifestations of individual flight from a situation



perceived as without perspective, on the other side, there are visible opportunities for dealing with this problem in the social context. The "dance-hall movement" is an interesting phenomenon. Youth from all social strata, in addition to the official youth organizations, assemble here. They attempt to revive the cultural heritage, folk dances and folk music with clearly national motives. Of course, they not only dance but also talk with each other. And one topic which, during the last few months, furnished potential political explosiveness to this movement--up until now largely ignored by the state--is the discriminatory treatment of the Hungarian minority in Rumania (about two million people) whose interests, in the opinion of many, are not sufficiently clearly represented by the Hungarian government. But the suspicion that the state is obliged to be excessively considerate of the "socialistic sister lands" is gravely important in a land with strong latent nationalism.

Another movement which has developed surprisingly rapidly since the autumn of 1982 is the Hungarian peace movement. Meanwhile, the number of its sympathizers is estimated at 20,000 and it appears in almost every city. Its best known organization is the "Dialogue" group. So far it leans strongly in the direction of legalism and pacifism. "Dialogue" means: dialogue between the peace movement and the government, and dialogue among the people. The state power has reacted very flexibly so far: the representatives of the official peace council are in discussion with "Dialogue". Meeting halls are provided for their arrangements; permission for a newspaper is under consideration.

In conclusion, another interesting development among the literary and artistic intellectuals must also be mentioned in this context. During the past decade, Hungarian intellectuals were split into a majority which considered the state power at least as the smallest imaginable evil under the actual circumstances and behaved loyally, and a relatively small radical minority which rejected every compromise but, at the same time, kept to itself in isolated elite circles, without influence and largely unmolested.

It was shown that this situation has started to change when, about two years ago, a memorial volume critical of the system appeared in honor of the Hungarian politician and author, Istvan Bibó, in "Samizdat" (that is, a private publication without official printing permit). In this 1001 page volume, a total of 76 Hungarian intellectuals had published from both camps of intellectuals (about half of them from the so-far legal camp). Meanwhile, it occurs with increasing frequency that authors belonging among the loyal intellectuals will publish articles under their full name in Samizdat. Even the loyal authors appear to have lost the confidence that the system, after first having shown evidence of economic success, would become more democratic under its own power. Party and state must be uneasy about the danger that economic dissatisfaction, nationalism and intellectual dissidence could unite. There are signs that they are reacting not quite so without imagination and repressively as one would otherwise expect from representatives of a "realist socialist" party and bureaucracy. In January 1982, György Aczel, the Politburo member of the

Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, gave a widely noticed lecture: "More Difficult Conditions Require the Expansion of Democracy" (BUDAPESTER RUNDSCHAU 5, 1983). His basic precept was that it is right to change the political system in such a manner that "it takes into consideration the fact that, in society, there are different, divergent and occasionally contradictory interests and views". This by itself is certainly a commonplace observation. But that societal consensus should be achieved through the open divulgence of conflicts of interest, in new. Until now, in every realist-socialistic country, this was considered the task of the Party which made its "leading role" legitimate precisely with the argument that, because of its "scientific world conception", it alone was in the position to define the interests of society as a whole and to project perspectives of development.

If this declaration of intent would indeed be taken seriously, then at least a starting point would have been created to provide for the particularism of private interests demanded by the economic system (and not simply to suppress it as during the Stalinist era). Naturally, Aczel does not tell in what form such a balancing of interests should be taking place-except through restrictions: In the future also, "in establishing an order of precedence for interests, a socialistic way of viewing things must assert itself."

That is, with all "'self-limiting; practice of power", the right to lead will in no way be relinquished by the Party. Finally, Aczel surrounds all of these efforts with a fence against all opposition out to change the system: "No one should expect that we treat as allies people who, through speculations over our deteriorating situation, would attack our achievements and defy our laws".

Shortly after the publication of this article, Rezso Nyers, the theoretician and planner of the economic reform in the 1980's, went a small step further in the same direction in an interview with a large Hungarian daily paper. He demanded an upgraded function of parliament in its control of the government and advice on laws; the discussion of alternate project plans in parliament; the institutionalization of "representation by economic, cultural, administrative and other partial interests" and finally, the using of mass media to analyze different "interests and views".

One could be of the opinion that it would be rash to conclude that this would indicate a further democratization of the political life in Hungary. This is also too general a concept. What stands out is the increasing possibility to express the interests of associations and groups in order to blunt the edge of the appearing social conflicts without touching the monopoly of the Party on decisions, and selective repression against the opposition criticizing the system. An example was provided, during the week before last, by the house searches involving some of the leading opponents (L. Rajk, F. Koszegi and O. Solt). But Rezso Nyers, who was, politically, put on ice during the 1970's, was honored during the same week with the order of the "Banner of the Hungarian People's Republic with Laurels".

## The Opposition

West Berlin DIE TAGESZEITUNG in German 13 Apr 83 p 3

[Unauthored article: "The Opposition From the View of a Specialist in Repression"]

[Text] (The representative of the Central Party leadership, Andras Knopp, had maintained at the beginning of a lengthy introductory report, that we do not document, and followed by answering questions from the public.)

[Question] Must the activity of the opposition be related to the "sick society"?

[Answer] "The questioner misunderstood me... I did not mean that the Marxism represented by the Party is correct and the one represented by others is not correct. I do not know of any Marxist ideology that would be represented outside of the Party. If such exists, I should like to learn about it and I shall take a stand next time... I don't believe that the momentary stand of the Party is always and a priori the correct one... This is also not the stand of the United Socialistic Workers' Party...

(He refers to the January speech by Aczel--cited above--which addressed the necessity of several interpretations competing with each other.)

This interpretation also defines the behavior of the Party toward the opposition. One must not use the concept "dissenter" with respect to the activity of the opposition because the opposing activity does not represent just some critical behavior... Concerning the question about the publication of writings by the opposition, I must say, that at times we would have to provide publicity to texts which are contrary to the law... By the way, I do not consider it a healthy matter that I stand up here on the platform and you are below. We could also switch places. I have not asked to be able to give a lecture here. I can stop...

I do not contest that, during the past years, those in opposition did address real problems. This, however, is not characteristic of their activity. The opposition has not produced too many values. Their literature is not particularly of a high standard, not rich in values. That is, in no genre--neither in the belletristics nor in the social sciences. In this society it does not happen that real problems are swept off the table only because they are being addressed by the opposing side. This would be blindness from the Party."

Subsequently, Knopp discussed the question of where and how opposition literature can be obtained. He declared that everyone who wants to know can get the information. Radio Free Europe has frequently repeated the addresses and dates.

(Someone sends a list to the podium to read--with addresses and dates. The discussion leader announces that he will not read this list aloud but if the writer of the note wished, he could come to the microphone and announce the addresses. Of course, he did not go to the microphone!).

[Question] What objective standards are there to evaluate whether an activity is "oppositional"? How can one find one's way? The norms for the judgment have changed several times in the course of time.

[Answer] "We must not have any rigid standpoints. People who do not agree with the different governmental orders and practices are not yet opposition!"

Avowedly, the suspension of the Rajk-Boutique in Galamb Street has not been a political action. (There were housing regulations and purely police reasons: Rajk's mother died and no one can claim two state housing units.) The police has the right to look what is going on when they receive adequate information. It is so in every civilized state on the earth. The suspicion of actions contrary to the law is grounds for police action. Someone from the audience pursued, among others:

[Question from audience] "We suffer from a lack of information. We read here and there that the opposition represents views, etc. contrary to the law. Why does not the opposition get any publicity, press or public appearances so that we also would have an opportunity to decide whether these accusations are valid?"

Subsequently, the caller from the audience criticized yesterday's (15 March) police excesses against peaceful demonstrators who nearly every year have participated in a demonstration on the anniversary of the 1948 Hungarian revolution.

(Prolonged applause!!)

Knopp was of the opinion that it, the Party, has not fast norms to define opposition. Of course, there are different views in practice. They have no screen by which to determine what is an opponent. Among them, there is a multitude of concepts and also among the opposition. It is not too different concepts facing each other. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, naturally, also had solid views about which they do not wish to initiate a discussion. An example could be the problem of power. All other questions, which do not touch on this, could be opened for discussion. Naturally, one can ponder whether this would be good or bad. Perhaps, with respect to this question, we are not of the same opinion here--remarked Knopp. Then one could maintain that there is a difference of opinions here.

About the strict police actions, allegedly, he has other information. He was not there. According to his information, drunken young people had removed some red flags and then spat at a policeman (applause).



"I do not understand whatever one may find as good about this!!"

The opposition as such is not defined by the Party. They turn into one when they commit acts against the law. To determine this, it is not the task of the political leadership but of the relevant state organs. They must then also undertake the necessary administrative steps.

2473

CSO: 2300/205

## HUNGARY

### HUNGARIAN MINORITIES DEMAND EQUAL RIGHTS

Vienna PROFIL in German 11 Apr 83 pp 54-55

[Article: "Humiliated, Beaten, Tortured"]

[Text] They are being dragged into court, or are beaten by the Security Police: The Hungarian minorities in the CSSR and in Rumania are protesting strongly.

The accused quoted Lenin. According to the words of the Soviet revolutionary, the dismemberment of Hungary after the First World War is "to be classified among the crimes of imperialism"--declared Miklos Dubay who, as a "bourgeois nationalist", stood in front of the judge in January, in Bratislava.

The 38 year old geologist and member of the Hungarian minority in (Southern) Slovakia numbering 584,000 people, is being accused of "undermining the order of the Republic" according to paragraph 98 of the CSSR criminal code. In fact, the "Committee to Protect the Rights of the Hungarian Minority in Slovakia" is being judged which has first become public in 1978. In 1981, it published a detailed description of the situation of this minority and has transmitted it to the follow-up conference of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), in Madrid.

"The Hungarian question can newly transform East Europe into a powder keg--warns the 34 year old philosopher, Gaspar Miklos Tamas. Born in Rumanian Transsylvania, he is currently living in Budapest. As the ethnic groups of the Danube monarchy were divided in 1918, instead of attaching the territories occupied by the minorities to the new mother countries, the peace treaties let them be scattered in countries of foreign nationals. Ever since, more than a third of the Hungarians are living the fate of a national minority robbed of its political rights.

On 3 June 1982, the CSSR State Security Service searched the home of Miklos Duray. The physician, Kalman Janics, himself persecuted as a civil rights activist and probably pushed into mental derangement, had reported Duray of all things as a Workers' Militia Battalion-agent. The police found documents dealing with the situation of the minority--which Duray calls private notes, to be sure.

Commissioned by Amnesty International, the Viennese lawyer Eva Maria Barki-Beko has followed the--often adjourned--legal proceedings. "The chair conducted the process without emotion and correctly. He allowed every witness to speak, including Kalman Janics, who obviously could not be taken seriously, and also the accused who was allowed to deliver an outstanding defense speech on behalf of himself. If everything is conducted in a correct manner, Dr Duray will be freed--or a political sentence of guilty will be delivered." On 25 February, Miklos Duray was set free unexpectedly and without any legal decision.

Deep down, the conflict continues. "The strong protest of the Rumanian and Czechoslovakian ethnic minority is merely the first sign of a national energy which, below the surface, displaces the European balance much sharper than any other tensions"--believes the dissenter, Gaspar Miklos Tamas, in Budapest.

The two million Magyars in Rumania have a much harder life than the half million in Slovakia. The Hungarians in Transsylvania--the largest ethnic minority in all Europe--for long decades have been subjected to pressure to become Rumanized, to forced moves and expatriation, and to an increased isolation from the culture of their motherland.

In spite of this, since December 1981, the underground publication "Ellenpontok" (Counter points) has been appearing regularly. Last October, it published a memorandum to the Madrid Conference: "The Rumanization of the Transsylvanians, the repression of our culture is forced with an effort never seen before. Into the mostly or exclusively Hungarian-speaking region, Rumanians are resettled from the other side of the Carpathian mountains. The Hungarian-language educational system is gradually eliminated, the publication of our books and periodicals is more and more cut back. Our language is in practice banned from public life."

The Rumanian Security Service "Securitate" immediately jumped into action. On 6 November, the poet Geza Szocs, 29, was arrested in Kluj. During the questioning, he was thrown headfirst against the wall several times because he did not admit to being the author of the memorandum. The teacher and philosopher, Attila Ara-Kovacs, 30, and biology teacher Karoly Toth, 41, were also arrested. Toth was "humiliated, beaten and tortured in an inhuman manner: handcuffed, trampled, his head knocked against the wall, dragged around by his hair"--described the soon to appear special edition of "Ellenpontok".

Thereby, the officials wanted to learn how far Hungarian circles in Budapest have participated in the production of "Ellenpontok". This accusation was too much even for the Central Committee in Budapest. Already earlier, the Hungarian Party Press had ridiculed the Comrade General Secretary in Bucharest. Now, the Party sent Politburo member Aczel to Rumania for an unsuccessful clarification of the situation.

The Kadar regime--already on the skid because of the difficult economic situation--is faced with a problem without solution. Through a cautious intervention on behalf of the Hungarian minority and through an increased--but still moderate--creation of a mood against Rumania, it could again more tightly close the dissenting ranks in the country. But its opposition would then also lend even greater attention to the minority problem. The "nationality problem" could even deliver a mass of followers to the small democratic opposition.

The gentlemen in Budapest are sending the police as a preventive measure. Since December, interrogations, house searches and threats against the members of the opposition belong to the routine repertoire in Hungary also.

But the opposition itself fears nothing more than that the minority problem could create chauvinistic waves under which perhaps their democratic hopes might get buried. In an open letter to the CSSR president, Gustav Husak, Gaspar Miklos Tamas wrote: "While you have publicly exposed the discriminations and injustices, Miklos Duray and his coworkers have bravely served a democratic future of East Europe which remains unimaginable without the most deeply honest drawing the peoples of this region closer to each other."

Earlier, Tamas has already written in an apocalyptic manner: "The nationalist principle had struck down Archduke Franz Ferdinand not with the most modern Krupp-cannon but with a cheap handgun. In the inhospitable and mute, reinforced concrete silos of the East European states, many such principles are waiting..."

2473

CSO: 2300/210



SZCZECIN PZPR HEAD SPEAKS ON WORKER-PARTY RELATIONS

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 5, 2 Mar 83 pp 3, 4, 6

[Interview with Stanislaw Miskiewicz, first secretary of the KW PZPR in Szczecin, by Leszek Jucewicz; date and place not given]

[Text] The Working Class

[Question] One cannot speak about relations between the party and workers or about party work among workers, without speaking about their situation, problems, and aspirations. You are one of those party activists who know workers not only, and I suppose not mainly, from literature. When you hear the words, "the working class," what associations or image do they evoke in you?

[Answer] I think that this image is different for each activist, because human experiences and ways of getting to know the working class are different. In my case two things played the main role: the fact that I came from a poor family and that I began my working career with the most dirty work in the shipyard. Although for many years I did not work as a laborer and my contacts were different, the image of the working class that I previously had remained and to a large degree shaped my present picture of the working class. It is a picture of people involved in their work, accustomed to work and concerned when there is no work. Of course shirkers and the chronically absent can be found among them too, but when absenteeism is widespread at a workplace, the causes of it lie not in the attitude of the workers toward their jobs but in bad production organization, faulty system of management and leadership.

It is also a picture of people who value social justice in all its dimensions, who value the wages that are their livelihood, and who respect authorities who are resolute and firm, but fair. Thus we can come closer to the working class and gain its support only when we rule and distribute justly--from top to bottom.

[Question] Is there not however a contradiction between the picture of the working class drawn by you and the real state of affairs? One can say about the working class that, like the party, it has remained the same but not in the same way. Workers look at and into the problems of work, production, justice, and power differently than a few years ago. The difference is not only in the sharpness of vision but also in the way of looking.

[Answer] The characteristics and values which I have described have not been degraded. The working class today, just like yesterday and before, ties its life and hopes to the results of work and realization of the principles of social justice and demands from the authorities that general conditions promoting material and social progress be created. The crisis has had its impact and so has western propaganda. However, has the great influence of this propaganda been connected only with the crisis? In the seventies, for example, possibilities for leaving and working abroad were created and these possibilities were widely used. A short stay abroad was insufficient to learn the true situation of the working class in the west, but sufficed--at the price of maximum savings including saving on food--to get and bring back earnings which when converted to the price of the dollar in Poland were several times higher than earnings of a worker performing the same job in a capitalist country. As a result false and mythical conceptions of living conditions in the west became widespread. We must be aware of that.

We must also be aware of the fact that in the past we did not take care of the worker's interests in a full, straightforward way. I do not mean only the wages, but the treatment of the worker, an attitude which would guarantee growing participation of the worker in culture and his real influence on the state's activity. In this respect practice was far removed from the system's principles. "Solidarity" played on these two elements of workers' discontent. It brought no proposals for solutions, because its leaders were concerned not with workers' interest but with the seizure of power. The fueling of workers' discontent and raising the wave of destruction and anarchy were necessary to achieve it. It caused a political and ideological weakening of the working class. Nevertheless the basic values espoused by the working class could not be and were not shattered. Today, as in the past, the working class attitude to such universal social issues as health protection, education and culture is better than in other social groups. Workers are characterized by great readiness to give concrete support for solutions and decisions advantageous for society as a whole.

[Question] For many years the working class was being written and spoken of mainly in theory, abstractly, from the perspective of the beer kiosk. Three stereotypes of a worker were circulating: the worker as an abstract unit, reflecting the "theoretical and historical working class personality"; the worker as a "hard hat," a primitive person, reduced to two dimensions: stupidifying work and mindless consumption; and the worker sanctified, the subject of adoration. After August, the last of the enumerated stereotypes was adopted, particularly among the intelligentsia connected with the "Solidarity ideology". Incidentally, this was the same intelligentsia who before saw the "hard hat" in the worker and whose attitude toward the leading role of the working class in the state was unfavorable, to say the least. What stereotypes of the worker are functioning today and what are their foundations in the social relations system?

[Answer] It is not easy to answer this question. The problem is complex and requires study. In the past two years profound changes have been taking place in social relations and this process is still going on. I think however that the relation of various social groups to the working class today,

in the beginning of 1983, is still fluid and has not crystallized completely-- particularly in regard to the relationship of the intelligentsia, a social group politically very diverse. Some trends are, however, already visible. For example, in the case of the intelligentsia group connected with "Solidarity," it seems to me that it gradually passes from, as you have called it, adoration for the working class, to the attitude it had before: namely, the attitude of superiority toward the workers. This is undoubtedly tied in with the fact that the working class in 1982 did not allow itself to be used by the forces inimical to Poland, as an instrument of struggle against the socialist state.

#### Workers and Management

[Question] And what about management?

[Answer] The relationship between business management, government, and workers is particularly important. The differences in interests are particularly visible here. They occur in questions connected with the economic reform, self-management, labor unions and so forth. I will give you a specific example: nearly all the commissions for price issues set up at work places last year took an uncritical stand toward the prices proposed for goods produced in those enterprises, even when these prices were hiked up in an atrocious way. One could deduce from this that workers are interested in increasing profits by hiking prices instead of raising productivity and work effectiveness and lowering production costs. Of course the facts are different. Talks with workers who sat in these commissions proved this. They spoke for high prices because the management of these enterprises presented the matter to them in the following way: without gouging prices, wages will be lower. How is a worker not to believe a person in position of responsibility? When these same workers were presented the problem in a proper light, they pronounced themselves in favor of price policy justified economically and socially. For workers do not want high prices for goods but rather such organization of work and production which guarantees a good, honest earning.

[Question] It will not be easy for management to stop treating the workers as tools and as an object. In the west this is common and, I would say, natural because it stems from the nature of the system in which a worker is a tool, although a talking one and not necessarily inexpensive; nevertheless, a tool for multiplying the capitalists' profits. In our system the treatment of workers as an object is a sign and an expression of distorted industrial and social relations, thus it must be effectively eliminated by both the authorities and workers themselves.

[Answer] It is being eliminated. A big step forward has been made in this area. The economic reform, worker self-management, independent labor unions-- these are extremely important factors for strengthening the conscious and active role played by the working class in the state's economic and political system. Nevertheless it is a fact that not infrequently these fundamental solutions are reduced only to overcoming the crisis--to get out of economic difficulties faster. To think that way is to think in outdated terms of treating workers as instruments or objects, ways which were condemned by

the Ninth Congress. The condition for the success of the reform is common awareness of the fact that the working class is the subject of the reforms, that pulling Poland out of the crisis and realization of workers' interests, aims and aspirations cannot be separated--and drawing conclusions from these facts.

[Question] It cannot, however, be said that the working class is receiving all these fundamental solutions enthusiastically.

[Answer] Workers today, particularly the younger generation of workers, have a strong sense of their subjectivity in the state and society. At the same time however, they are distrustful and suspicious in regard to the authorities' moves concerning them. This is a result of errors and distortions in the socialist development of Poland and the result of the political enemy's activity. Workers are unenthusiastic about the economic reform, self-management, and labor unions because they do not believe yet in the sincerity of the authorities' intentions and many suspect that self-management and unions are just a tactical move whose aim is to subdue the working class.

Therefore it is extremely important, first of all, to eliminate consistently and decisively such actions which give an impression that the adopted solutions pertaining to the economy, self-management, and labor unions are a tactical move and not a permanent, systemic solution. And secondly, to persuade workers patiently, on the basis of the whole political, economic and social practice, that everything which is being done in Poland today is being done with them in mind, for them and together with them. The point is to ask workers their opinion in all important questions, consult them honestly, not according to bad models. The existing possibilities for improving the living and working conditions of workers must also be meticulously pursued. Today, in the difficult crisis situation, it is impossible to satisfy even the basic needs of workers. This however should under no circumstances weaken attempts at realizing things that are possible. On the contrary, these attempts must be characterized by greater intensity and effectiveness. Particularly important today are such tasks as: improving the working conditions and safety at workplaces, facilitating workers' access to industrial and food products available on the market, better organization of transportation to work, guaranteeing places in nurseries and day care centers for workers' children, increasing the admissions of working class youths to secondary schools and colleges; and finally, the most important thing--housing. A worker's family will not build a villa for itself and cannot afford a one-family house either, but must be guaranteed a decent apartment in a housing project and not have to wait twenty years for it.

#### The Party and the Workers

[Question] Relations between the party and workers have always been of decisive importance for the total system of political and social relations. Today, in the situation of deep crisis, this is particularly true. For reasons that are known, these relations are not good now and a continuation of this state of affairs would in the long run greatly limit the possibilities for pulling Poland out of the crisis and for its successful development in



the future. What tasks is the party in the Szczecin region undertaking in order to improve its relations with the working class?

[Answer] I must say that the attitude of the workers toward the party is undergoing gradual improvement. It is a visible and tangible process. In 1981 the party was meeting in workers' milieux with manifestations of animosity, aggressiveness, and hostility. Now such attitudes toward the party sporadically occur but in individuals rather than whole workers' groups. Many reasons have contributed to this, one of the most important being party activity aimed at consistently regaining the trust of the working class and rebuilding the party's bond with it.

In the period of martial law we attached considerable importance to guaranteeing workers the possibilities of having influence on decisionmaking, to considering their opinions in a variety of questions and in the realization of forwarded motions and postulates. Last year in many enterprises we carried out consultations on the proposals regarding the motivational system of wages and the assumptions of the plans for the years 1983, and 1983-5. Members of the KW and the Voivodship Defense Committee often met with workers in enterprises and departments. In the decisions made by the Voivodship Committee the workers' point of view is always taken into consideration. The Committee's social and professional aktiv is now closer to workers than before August and is better received by them than before August. In our evaluations of the leadership cadres we treat the attitude toward workers and their issues as one of the basic criteria of leadership and management skills.

Also OOP [Departmental Party Organizations] and POP in enterprises today are closer to workers and their problems, asking for workers' opinions and taking these opinions into account. Contacts between the party and the working class are more lively than in the seventies.

Nevertheless the climate of distrust exists and surrounds the party on all sides. Workers do not trust words. Trust needs to be built on facts. If however we go to workers and they are willing to talk to us--that is success for today. If it is to be a success for tomorrow too--talks must be followed up by concrete actions and concrete facts. We are taking care that no worker's proposal having chances for realization be wasted. When a worker's sound motion is ignored, the defeat is not only the worker's but ours, the party's, as well.

[Question] The aloofness which characterizes the workers' attitude toward the party does not exclude acceptance or support for some of its particular actions. Everything suggests that the range of this support is slowly expanding. In what questions, on the other hand, are discrepancies, communication difficulties, distrust and aloofness from workers felt especially strongly?

[Answer] The attitude of workers remains particularly distrustful and reserved toward decisions and actions of a political character. Workers are unwilling to speak on political subjects. It is a fact commonly known, as are the reasons for such a state of affairs. There is resentment which cannot be eliminated from one day to another, time is needed for that. These

things are most visible on the platform of activities connected with the realization of the trade unions statute. Among the 900 enterprises and institutions in our voivodship, initiative groups and founding committees have been formed in 600 of them. In about 120 enterprises unions have already been registered and in a further 200, applications for their registration have been made. Nevertheless, the number of trade union members is low, amounting to 25,000 people only. Thus resistance is considerable; it should not be, however, exaggerated and overestimated. In this stage of trade union organizing, many workers abstain from joining a union only because their foreman or colleague has not joined yet; one waits for another and no one wants to be the first. When a considerable number of the work crew already belongs to the union, then it starts growing fast. We must therefore apply political measures to strengthen these impulses which promote the numerical growth of trade unions. And we are doing that. Party organizations, which last autumn assumed a generally passive attitude toward new trade unions, now have visibly intensified their activity in this field.

[Question] And what about the problem of young workers? What are the chances of winning them over to the party's program?

[Answer] The young have been affected by the crisis more than society as a whole. Moreover, young workers, succumbing to deceptive slogans, engaged themselves strongly in "Solidarity," tied themselves emotionally to its activity. Much effort and patience is needed to win them over to positive activity in self-management, trade unions, youth organizations and so forth. Last year we were incapable of such an effort, being too involved in the party's internal issues. In the realization of the Central Committee's Ninth Plenum we did not achieve what we intended. Thus the problem has remained nearly intact. It is a superimportant problem for the party in the current year. In the near future we will approach it in two ways: for March we are preparing a KW Plenum in which we want to show the problems of the young generation and outline a program of work among the youth. The point is not so much in how the young generation is to help us, but how we, the party and the authorities, can and should help the young. We are also preparing together with the youth organization, a school for young managers and directors. The first recruitment into this school will take place in February and 50 persons will be admitted. This will open an opportunity for those young people, including workers, who want to and are able to realize their aspirations. We attach great importance to both of these undertakings.

#### The Party in the Workers' Milieu

[Question] An enormous burden of difficult tasks, duties and responsibility is placed on the party. A part of this burden must be borne by basic party organizations. Much is being said and written about rebuilding the party, the process of renewal and regaining the ability to act. What is the actual situation? Are the basic party organizations in enterprises today already able to realize correctly and effectively the tasks resulting from the party's program and statute?

[Answer] One dreams about a party organization which at a meeting gets rid of all its ballast, a party that is thoroughly Marxist, without weaknesses; a party which undertakes the most important problems of an enterprise and develops a political and ideological discussion around them; a party in which all its members are fully involved, capable of postulating things that are of no advantage to them personally, but necessary for the general good. No such model exists in practice. Nevertheless one must strive for it. It requires great work, from the foundations, continuously and consistently, along the whole party front. One of the basic tasks today is to make party members realize with concrete examples that they are members of the party which rules, which thus bears the responsibility for the authorities' actions and for the implementation of the authorities' decisions. Another task is to bring about such a situation in which the program of actions of the basic organization should result from the needs of the work milieu. The third task is to strengthen the sense of responsibility for realizing the party's own motions and the motions of non-party workers.

There is a certain progress within party organizations with regard to the issues enumerated. This is visible above all in the acceptance and realization of motions. We are far removed however from a fully satisfactory situation. Party organizations for too long have not presented and solved independently the problems of their own milieux, limiting themselves to criticism of negative phenomena and presenting demands in order to pass them higher up. Their activity is still burdened by this reputation. This must be realized in order to gain some idea of the scale of effort necessary for the party's renewal, as well as an idea of the range and importance of the positive changes which have been taking place in basic party organizations.

[Question] In what sphere of party internal life and activity have these positive changes made their strongest mark?

[Answer] In the sphere of organization--in party discipline, the holding of meetings, in the work of executive boards and the POP and OOP secretaries. The Voivodship Committee guaranteed the necessary instructional help to the first secretaries of the POP, as well as help to party links of the basic level. Every month meetings are held in the KW with the KZ [workplace committee] first secretaries and 40 first secretaries of the large OOP. The aim of these meetings is to pass to the secretaries the political information and prepare them for the realization of current tasks. We have made a big step forward in the organizational strengthening of party links in workplaces; this was technically possible to do.

A smaller step has been made in the sphere of influence of party organizations on the economic and political life of the enterprise. The influence of party organizations on the realization of production tasks, the reform implementation, the work of self-management, the development of trade unions and the patriotic movement of national rebirth, still lags far behind needs. The smallest step has been made in the sphere of ideological activity and ideological training of party members. The ideological awareness of a worker party member differs very little from the awareness of a non-party member. This is an unfavorable situation. Only now more intensive actions aimed at enlivening the ideological activity in party organizations are being undertaken.

[Question] I believe that the above evaluation can be applied to all the POP's, including those in institutions and in the countryside. Only, the weaknesses you have mentioned appear still more sharply there. Can one, however, point out such elements of activity and the status of workers' party organizations which are characteristic of these particular organizations?

[Answer] There are several such elements. First of all--in the working class milieu, in contrast to the milieu of the party intelligentsia, the political division of 1981 occurred to a very small extent, without a political struggle. There were no "wings." As a result the party in the working class milieu is today unified on the main issues. Worker party members have defined themselves. When the question of verification is being brought up, the words "If it comes to it, do not start with the working class," are heard.

Secondly, the organizational and political independence of party organizations in enterprises, particularly large ones, is bigger than in other organizations. Here models for the party are being formed. A series of meetings in enterprises with the OOP secretaries convinced me that they can work independently. Thirdly, party meetings in the majority of enterprises end by adopting resolutions and defining the tasks of party members for their realization. This disciplines the organization's work and gives it direction, promotes concreteness and effectiveness of party work. In other milieux party organizations have not achieved this yet.

This does not mean that the work of workers' party organizations is free of the elements of formalism; they are still plentiful. Nevertheless, progress here is the most visible.

[Question] I would like to ask you in concluding this talk several questions of a more personal character. How often do you meet with workers?

[Answer] At least once a week I am with the regional party organization at a meeting with workers or at a party meeting in an enterprise.

[Question] With what problems do workers approach you when they come to the Committee or write letters to the first secretary?

[Answer] Most often these are complaints about unjust dismissal from work or the incorrect attitude of management toward worker's living problems.

[Question] Which of the contacts with workers do you value most and remember most frequently?

[Answer] Contacts with the Shipyard workers while being the KZ first secretary. When things got tough--I went to the production unit and returned feeling calmer and more confident.

[Question] What is, in your opinion, necessary if the working class is to acknowledge the PZPR as its own party and like it again--yes, like it?

[Answer] I will answer briefly: the working class must see in the party's activity the realization of its own aims, interests and aspirations.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

12270

CSO: 2600/577



OPOLE PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Cadre Party Policy

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 8 Feb 83 pp 1,2

[Article by (wal): "On Party Cadre Policy: Encounter at the PZPR Province Committee"]

[Text] As adopted by the Politburo of the party Central Committee, the main assumptions of the PZPR's cadre policy were the the topic of yesterday's meeting between the Secretariat of the Province Committee and the heads of province institutions and directors of the principal work establishments in the Opole Province. An address discussing these assumptions was delivered by Zdzislaw Niedzielski, Province Committee Secretary.

It ensues from these assumptions that the party, while it is abandoning the notorious "monenklatura," will not abandon cadre policy as one of the instruments of its leading role in the state. This policy will, however, be based on healthy and universally accepted principles. The criteria for appointments to managerial posts will henceforth be: /high ideological-political merits of the candidate, his high professional qualifications, organizational skills and the ability to shape correct interpersonal relations/ [printed in boldface] Here the principle of interconnectedness of these criteria is also important. The candidate must simply cope with everything in order to be recommended to a post.

The cadre policy assumptions of the PZPR also mention the principle of alternativeness, meaning that at least two individuals should at any given time be candidates to a post, regardless of whether they are nominated by election or through a contest.

The questions of the participants were answered by Jerzy Piechota, director of the Cadre Department of the Province Committee, and the chairman of the meeting, Eugeniusz Mroz, first secretary of the Province Committee, also stated toward the close that cadre policy must be a domain of the party but the mistakes previously committed in it should be avoided. He stated that it is not the [party] identity card but ideological and authentic commitment and knowledge that should be the decisive factors in the selection of managerial cadres.

We shall return in the very near future, in other articles, to the issues raised at that meeting.



Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 18 Feb 83 pp 1,2

[Article by Wlodzimierz Kosinski: "From the Deliberations of the Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee: "Status of Crime; Preparations for Province Committee Plenum on Housing Construction"]

[Text] Materials for evaluating the state of crime in the Opole Province in 1982 were prepared by the Province Procurature jointly with the Province Militia Headquarters and the Province Court in Opole. The political and legal situation of both the state and the citizens, as ensuing from the existence of martial law in 1982, caused marked changes in crime statistics. During the initial period, the rate of ordinary crime slowed down markedly. This was due to both the elimination of anarchy in socio-political life and the marked restrictions placed on the uncontrolled movements of the population. But already in May 1982 the situation began to deteriorate gradually: ordinary crime rate increased, especially as regards crimes against property, life and health.

Still, this increase was not large compared with the situation in the other provinces (9 percent, compared with 15 percent nationwide). It moreover did not occur for all crime categories, and wherever it occurred it did not always mean an actual increase in menace. For example, compared with 1981, the number of economic crimes increased as much as 36.8 percent, but this is a category in which the number of undetected crimes probably still remains fairly high. In this case, the better the performance of the organs of law enforcement, chiefly the Militia, the higher the detection rate of crimes in this category, as reflected in the increase in the number of proved crimes. Speculation and moonshine production have soared: their extremely high rates of growth--385 and 539 percent, respectively--are due to the fact that in 1981 crimes of this kind had been extremely few. And although in the last few months these two crime categories display a marked decline in their growth rate, there still exists the very real danger that speculation and, particularly, the production of moonshine (a crime previously nearly unknown in the Opole Province) will remain a permanent element in the structure of crime in the long run.

A characteristic and positive aspect of the past year has been the decline in the overall losses due to economic crime--from about 47 million zlotys in 1981 to 28.5 million zlotys last year. In addition, higher rates of detection have also been recorded for such crime categories as streetfights, beatings, rape and burglaries of public property. Another positive occurrence has been the decline in the number of robberies, bodily injuries, burglaries and thefts of private property and homicides. Traffic safety also has increased.

In the course of yesterday's deliberations of the Executive Board the province militia commander complemented the presented materials with information on crimes of a political nature.

During the period considered the procurature and organs of the Militia invested considerable effort in preventive measures. The organs of the Militia did so by concentrating on inspections with the participation of, among others, the Army, the Volunteer Detachments of Citizens' Militia [ORMO] and the worker aktiv, such as the anti-speculation drives conducted throughout the province. These activities resulted in the detection of more than 11 million zlotys of goods kept hidden from purchasers. Other systematically conducted activities were the "Law and Order" operations and special actions on roads and in transport bases, intended not only to detect economic crimes but also to improve traffic safety.

The Executive Board of the Province Committee pointed to the need to continue and markedly expand preventive measures. It recommended the adoption of measures needed to assure further improvement in discipline, order and security. Resolute responses to violations of security and order in public places are needed. Also needed are firm penal sanctions against speculators and moonshiners, against criminals harming the most valuable things: life and health, and the safety of work and home. It is equally indispensable to verify the effectiveness of the penal sanctions applied against rapists, in view of the sharp increase in this category of crime.

As regards economic crimes, special attention should be paid to protecting the complex whole of the food economy against embezzlement, bribe-taking, so-called barter, poor management and waste. Excessive and unjustified amassing of fortunes and social parasitism should be combatted. The combatting of these manifestations of social pathology, as well as of the attendant drug addiction and alcoholism, should be done not only by the organs of law enforcement and administration of justice. Crime against property, both public and private, still remains the principal crime category. Its control requires not only penal sanctions but preventive measures. Among other things, the official and material responsibility of management for the security of public property should be tightened.

In view of the numerous thefts of motor vehicles, especially in new housing projects, the co-responsibility of the users and administrators of large parking lots and garges for the protection of these spaces should be considered. The Executive Board of the Province Committee recommended that the party echelons in Wolczyn, Pokoj, Zdzieszowice, Baborov, Nysa, Kamiennik, Chrzastowice and Zebowice, gminas with a high crime rate, analyze the causes of the growth of crime.

The Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee expressed its recognition and gratitude to the Province Procurature, the Province Militia Headquarters and the Province Court in Opole for the successes achieved in the prevention and control of crime in the Opole Province.

Next on its agenda the Executive Board of the Province Committee familiarized itself with the preparations for the plenary session of the province party organization scheduled for 26 February. The session will concern itself with housing construction.

#### Plenary Session on Residential Construction

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 26-27 Feb 83 pp 1,3

[Article by Andrzej Mach: "How To Build More? Plenary Deliberations of the PZPR Province Committee Today"]

[Text] According to pessimists our construction has reached such a nadir that it will not emerge from it during the remainder of this century. According to optimists, we are on the best path toward a vigorous growth of construction. Were either of these opinions close to truth, there would be nothing to discuss. And yet, construction is neither in such a tragic situation nor emerging from the crisis. It should be considered that (according to the materials, submitted by

the [construction] ministry, examined by the Government Presidium last 14 February) construction has lost a considerable part of its potential. Nationally, this loss is estimated at 40 percent--when 1979 is compared with 1982. Its causes are numerous--among other things, depreciated equipment and the growing material problems, as well as the steady efflux of people from the building trades. This is due to the difficult--owing to the very nature of the work--conditions on construction sites along with the frequent absence of basic social services. In addition, construction is becoming financially less competitive compared with other--comparable--occupations.

There exists a fairly widespread view that our province suffers fewer of these problems. This is a debatable view. Consider the number of dwellings released for occupancy in individual years (data of the Province Statistics Office pertaining solely to socialized construction.) The pertinent figures, as given below, are somewhat rounded off without obscuring the basic picture.

1975--4,300 dwellings  
1976--4,300 dwellings  
1977--4,800 dwellings  
1978--4,600 dwellings  
1979--4,500 dwellings  
1980--3,700 dwellings  
1981--2,600 dwellings  
1982--2,600 dwellings

As can be readily seen, the record-breaking year 1977 was followed by a steady decline which ultimately reached the plateau of 2,600 dwellings annually or as little as 55 percent of the attainments in the record year. It should also be considered that associated construction (premises for trade, services, culture and health service) and communal construction (the utility infrastructure needed to build new housing projects) have long been neglected. It thus cannot be said that the Opole Province is significantly better off than the country as a whole.

Thus we too need the same cure. What cure? This topic doubtless received most attention at today's plenum. It is clear that discussion will not--because it cannot--result in an immediate elimination of material shortages or the employment threshold. Besides, had all the required elements of the investment process been at hand, the discussion of construction at the highest party forum in the province would have been unnecessary. The situation is otherwise and thus an important inspiring-organizing role must be played by the Opole party organization in (increasingly better) cooperation with the Democratic Party and the United Peasant Party. Examples of such activities are growing more and more numerous--for instance, in Opole, where a program for improving the city's housing situation was drafted on the initiative of the local party echelon.

This clearly does not mean that the party is supplanting the state administration or suggesting the best solutions to design and urban-planning organizations and the--cooperative and communal--users. There would be no point to this. The issue is completely different and concerns, first, the full coordination of the efforts of all participants in the investment process; second, the complete overcoming of particular barriers still existing in many enterprises; and third, the reconciliation of the often divergent interests of different branches (e.g. of housing construction and agriculture.

Here an important function is to be exercised by the party cells in design bureaus and construction and maintenance enterprises. The basic party organizations in some construction companies are weak, however, and their marked

strengthening is the need of the moment. In addition, given the current housing situation, common efforts regardless of organizational belonging are needed. In principle, there is only one argument--the length of the waiting period for apartments, which in some cities has already reached 10-12 years. To those waiting this is nearly an eternity. If no measures to shorten this period prove effective during the next few years, it may grow even longer--thus, we must build more.

#### Debates at Plenary Session on Construction

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 28 Feb 83 pp 1,2

[Unsigned article: "How Can the Available Resources Be Utilized to Build a Maximum Number of Dwellings? A Debate With the Participation of M. Gorywoda, Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee" under the rubric "Plenary Deliberations of the PZPR Province Committee"]

[Text] /The plenary deliberations of the Opole Province PZPR Committee dealt with the socio-economic conditions for the growth of housing construction during the 1983-1990 period./ [printed in boldface]

Those taking part in the debate, which was chaired by Eugeniusz Mroz, first secretary of the PZPR Province Committee, included: Manfred Gorywoda, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Edward Waszak, deputy minister of the construction and building materials industry; comrades representing the Opole Province in the central party authorities; and invited economic activists working in investment services and construction design and operations.

Before commencing the business part of the debate, Zdzislaw Niedzielski, secretary of the PZPR Province Committee, informed those present about the course of the implementation of the recommendations made during the Province Committee Plenum (of 10 January of this year) and defined more precisely at the last Province Reports Conference. At the time, 76 proposals were made, of which 48 were accepted as feasible (under the present conditions), 16 addressed to the Opole Province Governor, 20 processed by the appropriate Province Committee departments, and 12 transmitted to the central authorities (PZPR Central Committee, Office of the Council of Ministers, branch ministries). Next, Stefania Wanecka, a member of the Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee, briefed those present on the course of the implementation of 21 recommendations made during the joint plenary session of the PZPR and Democratic Party [SD] province committees. In the period preceding this debate numerous other proposals were revised and 56 are now being implemented.

The basis for the discussion of the socio-economic conditions for the growth of housing construction during the 1983-1990 period was--in addition to the analytic studies previously provided to the participants in the debate--the report of the Executive Board of the Province Committee, presented by Andrzej Walczak, secretary of the Province Committee. Those taking part in the discussion were: Norbert Lysek, member of the Province Committee Executive Board, director of the Silesian Lime Industry Works in Tarnow Opolski; Henryk Pawlowski, Province Committee member, first secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee at the BLACHOWNIA Chemical Works; Benedykt Cysewski, Province Committee member, mayor of the city and gmina of Ozimek; Jan Pikor, Province Committee member, mayor of the city and gmina of Brzeg; Roman Troszczynski, first secretary of the Opole City



PZPR Committee; Konstanty Chmielewski, member of the Province Committee Executive Board, director of the KEDZIERZYN Nitrogen Works; Jozef Badek, Province Committee member, first secretary of the Strzelecki City-Gmina PZPR Committee; Roman Stryczek, vice chairman of the Province Board of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth [ZSMP]; Jan Migon, Province Committee member, chairman of the Housing Cooperative in Glogowek; Jozef Spyrka, candidate member of the Province Committee, first secretary of the City-Gmina PZPR Committee in Glubczyce; Zbigniew Mikolajewicz, Opole Province Governor; Adam Bebenek, Province Committee member, staff member of the Gogolin City-Gmina PZPR Committee; Zygmunt Rugowski, director of "Miastoprojekt-Opole" [Opole Urban Planning Team]; Stanislaw Lesniak, Province Committee member, deputy director of the Gmina Collective School in Lesnica; Edward Waszak, deputy minister of the construction and building materials industry; and Jozef Pawlik, first secretary of the PZPR Basic Party Organization [POP] at the Kedzierzyn Construction Enterprise.

Toward the end of the discussion the floor was taken by Manfred Gorywoda, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

Next, Norbert Lysek, the chairman of the Commission for Recommendations and Resolutions--which was appointed at the outset of the deliberations--and member of the Executive Board of the Province Committee, presented the draft resolution of the Province Committee concerning the SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS FOR THE GROWTH OF HOUSING CONSTRUCTION DURING THE 1983-1990 PERIOD. The resolution was--following numerous amendments--accepted unanimously. The commission also recorded all comments and proposals made during the discussion; they will be thoroughly considered and reported upon during the next plenary session of the Province Committee.

Regarding the part of the agenda dealing with /organizational matters/ [printed in boldface], Eugeniusz Mroz asked the Province Committee members to accept the recommendation granted by the Province Committee Secretariat to Roman Pillardem, the longtime editor-in-chief of the Opole Polish Radio and Television Station, to whom the Committee for Radio and Television has entrusted the post of editor-in-chief of the Katowice Television Center. The recommendation was accepted unanimously. Next, the first secretary of the Province Committee proposed that Stanislaw Raclawicki be recommended for the post of the editor-in-chief of the Opole Polish Radio and Television Station, on declaring that his candidacy has met with a positive response from the party organization and the Opole radio station as well as from the governing board of the Opole Branch of the Association of Journalists of the PRL. The proposal was unanimously accepted.

Saturday's plenary deliberations of the PZPR Province Committee were ended with the singing of "The International."

#### Secretary Andrzej Walczak's Report

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 28 Feb 83 p 3

[Abridged report: "Socio-Economic Conditions for the Growth of Housing Construction in the 1983-1990 Period: Report of the Executive Board of the Province Committee, Presented at the Plenary Session of the Committee by Andrzej Walczak, Province Committee Secretary"; subheadings inserted by editors]

[Text] In raising the issue of housing construction at today's plenum of the PZPR Province Committee we are aware of the public's expectations and needs in that



field, as well as of the conditions and problems involved in the complex process of the implementation of construction. The current situation in housing construction and the degree to which the public's demand for housing is met have been significantly affected by the underfulfillment of construction plans during the past five-year plan period, as well as by the marked decline, since 1980, in the number of dwellings released annually for occupancy. During the 1976-1980 period in our province, compared with the planned 33,000 dwellings, the actual number built was 28,400, of which 7,100 in single-family construction. The Resolution of the 1976 Province Reports-Elections PZPR Conference, which adopted a housing construction program that was 30 percent higher than the assumptions of the National Socio-Economic Plan [NPSG] has not been implemented either. The resulting backlog was aggravated in the last 3 years when the number of dwellings released for occupancy declined significantly. On the average, during the years 1980-1982 the annual number of dwellings built was 1,500 lower than in the late 1970s. We started the 1980s with a baggage of arrears not only in the number of dwellings released for occupancy but also as regards the technical and social infrastructure and the development of building lots for housing projects.

In view of the declining pace of housing and attendant construction and the growing demand for housing, it is necessary to take steps with the object of preventing the further deterioration of the housing situation in our province. So far we have not scored positive results in implementing this goal. In 1982 3,722 dwellings were released for occupancy in the Opole Province, of which 2,586 were built by socialized construction. The plan targets in socialized construction were fulfilled only 77 percent. As a result, more than 700 families failed to receive dwellings on schedule. A positive phenomenon, on the other hand, was last year's elimination of the backlog from the preceding years as regards land development and the correction of defects. One-half of the backlog as regards land development on 216,000 sq m has been eliminated. The schedule for correcting technological and finish flaws in dwellings has been followed satisfactorily. Marked progress has been noted in the development of housing projects and surrounding land. A partial modification of large-panel technology in Opole and Nysa has also been introduced. As regards the construction of public service buildings, the following were released for use in 1982: 2 health centers, 5 preschools, a hospital pavillion in Korfantow, and an academic high school in Opole. The construction of an elementary school in Brzeg and a rayon dispensary in Strzelce Opolskie has been started. Still, delays in this field have been very significant, particularly as regards the construction of health facilities and schools. Delays in the construction of trade and consumer service facilities also have been occurring. Last year, only 17 of the planned projects were released for use. The implementation of utility projects also has not been favorable: in 1982 only 34 percent of the planned investment outlays in that field was utilized.

#### Causes of the Shortfall

Such a situation is due to many causes. Aside from the external factors due to the crisis condition of the economy and the shorter work week, subjective factors hinging on all the participants in the investment process also came into play. The performance of the construction industry has been the principal factor. Construction enterprises have been setting themselves their own plan targets without interference from the superior authorities and most often these targets were below their production capacities. Only the Kedzierzyn Construction Enterprise and the Kluczborek Construction Enterprises fulfilled their own plans. The management of the other construction enterprises committed mistakes already

in the planning stage, because it envisaged releasing for occupancy 45 percent of the planned yearly number of dwellings during the last quarter of last year alone. Observations and inspections of individual construction projects give reason to believe that the main causes of the existing delays are material and manpower shortages as well as poor organization of labor and wasteful handling of materials on construction sites.

The performance of construction has also been adversely affected by flaws in the economic system that was mandatory last year. By choosing the upper limits of the conversion factors of payments for construction and installation operations, construction enterprises were able to gain substantial profits without markedly increasing their output and streamlining their operations. This has resulted in a marked rise of construction cost, which now amounts to about 25,000-30,000 zlotys per square meter of useful dwelling area. We consider it an urgent matter to refine the economic mechanisms in construction by, among other things, applying incentive systems that would encourage the growth of construction enterprises and their maximum utilization of fixed assets. The revision of the principles of remuneration in construction that was carried out last year has not adequately linked wages to the productivity and quality of labor. The wage systems introduced, as based on the target work-day, merely resulted in slowing down the pace of construction operations and reducing the chances of the more productive workers for getting higher pay. In view of these facts it can be stated that the economic reform has not yet reached the construction sites and that the economic parameters have been operating neither as intended nor effectively enough. But it would be an oversimplification to blame the construction enterprises alone for the state of the fulfillment of the plan targets for housing and attendant construction. A large part of the blame is also borne by designer teams and investor services. A number of design mistakes as well as of changes introduced in the course of construction, incomplete blueprints, delays in allocation of construction sites and off-schedule shipments of materials by investors also are responsible. This applies especially to the investor services handling local-plan targets, but these shortcomings have also occurred in the activities of these services in the construction for housing cooperatives and labor establishments.

The 1983-1990 program for housing construction in the Opole Province has begun to be drafted by the Province Office already in September of last year. The political and administrative authorities of the cities and gminas as well as public organizations were broadly consulted about the program assumptions. During the preparations for today's Plenum, too, we had asked the party-economic aktiv for opinions on the problems of housing construction. From the management of construction enterprises we received comments concerning the practical functioning of mechanisms of the economic reform in construction and their consequences. As for the party organizations in construction, they transmitted observations concerning the organization of operations on construction sites, the management of materials and the wage system applied. Comments and opinions on housing construction have also been transmitted by the Province Board of the ZSMR, the Supreme Technical Organization, the Inter-Plant Club of Technology and Labor-Saving Suggestions, the Higher School of Engineering, the Institute of Binders for Building Materials and the Polish Economics Society. Construction topics were twice the topics of assessment by the Economic Commission under the Province Committee. All these comments, opinions and proposals were utilized in preparing the materials for today's plenary session and they will be of help in adopting the final decisions on the program for housing construction until 1990 at the March session of the Province People's Council.

## Bring Possibilities Close to Needs

As ensues from the analysis of the housing demand, 32,000 members and candidate members of housing cooperatives who have paid in full their dwelling costs are waiting to be allotted tenant apartments. If we also consider that each year 4,500 new candidate members register at these cooperatives, the scale of the housing shortage turns out to be much greater. At present in the province the average waiting period for a cooperative apartment is 8 years. Of course, this period is not the same everywhere. There are cities where the average waiting period is 4 years, e.g. Strzelce Opolskie, Zawadzkie, Zdzieszowice and Krapkowice, but on the other hand in Opole and Nysa the waiting period for cooperative apartments is 10 years, and in Brzeg even 12. According to official data, by 1990 about 15,000 families in the basic waiting stage will be waiting for billeted dwellings to be allotted by the people's councils. The program proposed by the Opole Province Governor assumes the construction of 51,200 dwellings during the years 1983-1990, of which 13,300 dwellings in the form of single-family construction. Specific figures on this program are given in the materials provided to the comrades. As ensues from the above data, our possibilities do not meet fully the needs. We should thus consider determining the directions of action that provide the administrative-legal, economic-financial, local and material-technical conditions for the solution of the housing problem. According to the assumptions of the party's policy, the government is expected to increase the resources allotted for developing housing and attendant construction as well as the technical infrastructure and expanding the production of basic construction materials, machinery and tools as well as provide more convenient terms for loans and budget subsidies for investors, offer financial assistance to low-income families and, lastly, finance research into and the introduction of new solutions, particularly as regards the conservation of materials and energy.

However, irrespective of the solutions arrived at by the central authorities, the overcoming of the fundamental difficulties will hinge on the activism and operativeness of the administrative authorities, management and work-forces of the construction organizations. Another important factor is the public influence exercised by the party organizations, worker self-governments, trade unions and youth organizations. In adopting these premises, five fundamental fields of our economic and political activity may be distinguished. First, the securing of building lots for socialized and single-family construction and an appropriate development of their infrastructure. Second, assuring the development of capability for construction operations, with special consideration of civil-engineering and installation operations as well as assuring an adequate coordination of general construction at the province level. Third, the development of the production of building materials based on local raw materials and industrial wastes. Fourth, the maximum utilization of all initiatives as regards private, plant and patronage construction. Fifth, a rational utilization of the existing housing stock and improvements in its condition.

The feasibility of this housing program depends chiefly on the availability and development of building lots. This is a difficult problem considering that protected farming soils, that is, grade 1-4 soils, account for about 77 percent of the overall surface area of the province. The plans for the area under housing construction during the period until 1990 specify building lots with an aggregate surface area of 3,645 hectares on which 87,100 dwellings are to be built. ~~...the overall 20 percent increase in secured building lots as~~

compared with the balance-sheet needs of the province, there exists a real danger that many cities will experience shortages of building land. The reason is that 64 percent of the lots are privately owned and nearly 40 percent represent protected farming land.

Consultations of the basic-level echelons concerning the housing program most often dealt with the problem of land development. The needs for the expansion or modernization of the technical infrastructure in discrete urban areas of the province markedly exceed the current possibilities. This concerns both the funds needed and the actual operating capabilities. The arrears from the previous years in this respect still cause utility investments to lag behind housing construction. During the years 1976-1980 2,606 million zlotys was allotted for this purpose but only 2,300 million zlotys or 88.3 percent was utilized. In 1981 the pace of operations slowed abruptly. The plan targets were fulfilled barely 71.2 percent, whereas in 1982 they were fulfilled 84.4 percent. The delays in implementing the communal infrastructure impede housing construction and cause additional losses to the economy. For example, delays in building the boiler plant in Lubrza have resulted in that three residential buildings have not yet been completed for the second year in a row and are standing vacant. A similar situation may arise in Nysa if the boiler plant on Jagiellonska Street is not completed before the onset of the next cold season. Such a crisis may also arise in, among other places, Kluczbork and Brzeg beginning in 1984, or even during the 1983/1984 cold season when there may be inadequate heat for apartments, whereas after 1984 housing construction in that city will have to be halted unless the expansion of the local boiler plant is commenced. A similar situation may arise in Opole. According to the available information, the assumptions underlying the plan for central investments until 1985 do not include the expansion of the central boiler plant in Opole. This creates a major danger to the continuation of housing construction in Opole.



Another major problem affecting nearly all urban areas is the waste treatment plants. The greatest difficulties with sewage disposal occur in the region of Nysa and Glucholazy. This is associated with the protection of surface waters which provide potable water for the Wroclaw metropolitan area. Similar problems with sewage disposal exist in Krapkowice, Kedzierzyn-Koziel, Brzeg, Prudnik, Zdzieszowice and Ozimek. As regards urban water supply, Glucholazy exists in a difficult situation. The new water intakes being built there leave much to be desired so far as the pace of their construction is concerned. A reprehensible example of lack of responsibility is provided by the construction of the water purification station in Gierszowice near Brzeg. That project was commenced in 1972 and its completion had been originally scheduled for 1977. But so far it still has not been completed. In Opole, to be sure, the water supply situation does not impede the progress of housing construction, but the quality of that water leaves much to be desired. It will not be until 1985, when the new water purification station is completed, that the quality of that water will improve and its supply will be increased by 8,000 sq m daily. All in all, the most urgent needs of the province with regard to the local plan investments scheduled for completion by 1990 amount to 13 billion zlotys. If, however, the need to prepare the infrastructure for post-1990 construction is also considered, these needs amount to 17 billion zlotys. As ensues from the preliminary information on the allotment of investment outlays for the province in the period until 1985, these funds are substantially below the amounts assumed when the program was drafted. In such a situation steps are needed to augment investment outlays through, among other things, the participation of work establishments.

An important factor in the development of housing construction is adequate construction capacities, their structure and the coproduction system. In recent years many changes have occurred in the organizational structure of construction enterprises, because associations and combines have been disbanded. The previous plants have gained the status of independent construction enterprises. As of 1 July 1982 the Opole Province Governor assumed control over general and agricultural construction enterprises. The transfer of construction capacities to the sphere of local industry afforded an opportunity for utilizing them in

accordance with the socio-economic needs of the province. It has thus also become possible to gradually eliminate the traditional ministerial [administrative] barriers along with all their negative consequences.



## Barriers to Growth

The greatest shortfalls in capacity exist as regards the conduct of civil-engineering operations. On this matter the province authorities have reached agreement with representatives of the management and worker self-governments of the construction enterprises with the object of expanding the conduct of civil-engineering operations. As ensues from the opinions submitted on this issue, the barriers to the growth of civil-engineering potential are: a shortage of qualified personnel, material shortages and low wage levels. It should be a task for the province administration to provide the conditions for expanding the training of skilled personnel and specialists and consider granting certain preferences to the enterprises which build the technical infrastructure. We also think it necessary that every potential of industrial construction enterprises should be exploited to build communal facilities and installations. The construction cooperatives, repair-and-construction brigades and artisans should supplement the basic potential. They should provide services to investors in plant construction performed on a cost-effective basis as well as to patronage and single-family construction.

In the course of housing construction we should not have problems with the supplies of cement, lime and aggregate. These materials are being produced in quantities fully sufficient to meet the province's demand. But as for brick production, it may represent a major obstacle. The existing brick kilns are obsolete, having been mostly built at the turn of the century. The difficult conditions, the extremely high proportion of heavy manual labor and the relatively uncompetitive wages result in a continuing decline in employment as regards the most arduous jobs. At present the shortage in this category of workers averages 200 persons per enterprise. An important matter is the commencement of the construction of a new brick kiln in Paczkow. Until recently lack of funds had been an insurmountable barrier. The establishment of a fund for the development of structural ceramics made it possible to undertake an investment project which is scheduled to supply construction with 45 million ceramic units or 50 percent of the current total output of ceramics in the province. Currently efforts also are being made to initiate the production of cellular concretes on the site of the abandoned construction of a house building factor in Kedzierzyn-Koziel, on utilizing for this purpose the fly-ash wastes of the BLACHOWNIA Electrical Power Station. We appeal to all cooperative and artisan work establishments to consider every possibility for producing materials for the needs of housing construction. The initiation and coordination of such local production as well as the provision of favorable conditions for it is a duty of the local administration.

## Not Only Cooperative Construction

Increasing the scale of housing construction will also depend on the initiative of the directly interested citizens, the commitment of their own funds and the contribution of their own labor. Special initiative in this respect should be displayed by the youth, including newlywed couples, because they represent the most numerous groups among housing applicants. In the coming period we will promote the development of the program for patronage and plant construction in all forms of multi-family and single-family construction. In recent years interest in single-family construction has been growing, as proved by the number of permits granted. The prices and supply problems of building materials have undoubtedly been a factor in this. In 1982 1,136 families settled in houses built by themselves and an additional 4,258 such single-family houses are under con-

struction. Material problems have resulted in a longer average period of construction of a single-family house, which at present lasts 5-7 years in this province. The 1983-1990 program envisages the construction of 13,300 single-family dwellings. In view of the assumptions underlying the government's policy for the 1980s, this program is not very ambitious, but even so it will not be realistic unless we overcome the principal obstacles and particularly the high cost of construction, the material shortages and the availability of building lots. The high cost of construction materials and services has greatly added to the cost of single-family housing construction. As a result, to most families this means of obtaining dwellings has become inaccessible. In January of this year new principles for granting loans, preferences and budget subsidies for persons undertaking to build their own dwellings were introduced.

In the province plan for area build-up 21,100 building lots are set aside for single-family housing construction. At present only 1,600 such lots are at the disposal of the housing offices. The remainder cannot be vacated until expropriated or provided with water, electricity and roads. The greatest shortages of building lots occur in Opole, Kedzierzyn-Koziel, Nysa and Brzeg. We must act so that every city mayor and gmina chief would set up a reserve supply of building lots so that the problem of procuring these lots would not impede progress in single-family housing construction. Industrial plants must contribute more than previously to meeting the housing demand. Most of them have the resources for providing assistance in the preparation and implementation of housing construction. The monies which the enterprises may allot for these purposes can be available from the Plant Housing Fund, which can be augmented with a higher share of profits or with bank loans.

Concerning the utilization of public initiatives, the further expansion of the youth's patronage over housing construction should be considered. This form of construction contributed 1,865 dwellings during the 1973-1981 period, with an additional 486 dwellings in preparation or under construction. The greatest activism in this field is displayed by the ZSMP organizations in Brzeg, Nysa and Kedzierzyn-Koziel. The first youth housing cooperatives have been formed at the General Swierczewski Iron and Steel Plant in Zawadzkie and at the Nysa ZUP [expansion unknown]. Assistance for persons building single-family dwellings has been organized at the MALAPANEW Iron and Steel Plant and Opole cement plants under the patronage of the ZSMP. Mention also is deserved by the initiative in establishing small artisan plants for the production of building materials and a team for design services under the Province Board of the ZSMP. The above examples demonstrate that the youth wishes to solve its most difficult problems but suitable conditions are not always provided for this. Its initiatives still often collide with red tape and indifference. This issue was raised at the meeting with representatives of the patronage movement in the province in January of last year.

#### Enhance the Prestige of Construction

In discussing the program for housing construction we cannot overlook the problem of the upkeep and proper management of the existing housing stock. In our province 7,565 buildings containing 56,575 dwellings as well as 1,925 private rental premises are operated under the aegis of the communal economy. Many of these buildings require a thorough overhaul and renovation, and 7 percent of the housing stock is no longer usable and has been designated for demolition. The growing backlog in the repair and renovation of dwellings is due to the failure to utilize the funds allocated for this purpose over the past years. In 1982 more than 1 billion zlotys was allocated for housing repair but only 860 million

was utilized. The incomplete utilization of funds has chiefly been due to the commitment of the repair facilities of the communal economy to the implementation of investment work. Last year the organizational structure of the communal economy was changed so as to result in a decentralization of its capacities. Communal-economy enterprises and plants became subordinated to city mayors and gmina chiefs. The conducted reorganization of communal services promotes a better utilization of resources and expansion of capacities. But it is necessary to adhere to the principle that repair enterprises should give the chief priority to the repair of dwellings and buildings. In addition, the performance of the housing administration and the quality of the communal services rendered should be improved.

To check on the implementation of the principle that a family has the right to a single dwelling of its own, last year a nationwide review of dwellings and commercial premises was conducted. In our province the review comprised more than 65,000 residential dwellings and commercial premises. The review revealed the existence of 212 vacant units, 271 squatter-occupied units and 102 instances of occupation of two or more units. By the end of December of last year 142 dwelling units and 29 commercial premises were recovered and 86 dwellings and 16 premises made available. These findings point to major shortcomings in housing management. On assessing these findings, the Executive Board of the Province Committee recommended that the state and cooperative administration and public and political organizations continue the drive to uncover vacant dwelling units.

It is the task of the construction crews to build and release for occupancy 2,960 new dwellings this year. In view of the marked advancement of preparatory operations as of the end of last year, this figure is not exaggerated but quite realistic. We realize that construction personnel have to implement their tasks under conditions that are far from optimal. Of the problems named at party meetings and in direct talks with workers on construction sites, the ones most often mentioned are the shortage of heated footwear and the inadequate supplies of soap and towels. To improve this situation, concrete steps have been taken to somewhat alleviate these shortages. Certain plants will expand their production of protective clothing, and the OTMET Shoe Plant in Krapkowice will commence producing heated footwear suitable for construction work. We consider it necessary to attach great importance to social and living conditions at all construction organizations. In this matter, party cells should cooperate with worker self-governments and trade unions, and they also should initiate the drafting of plant plans for improvements in the social and living conditions of the construction crews.

A major problem in construction is the efflux of its work force, and particularly of skilled workers. In addition, a large part of the graduates of schools of construction trades cannot adapt themselves to on site conditions. This problem requires special handling by enterprise management, party cells and trade unions. A highly important related factor is the scope of the social services provided to the work force, including the privileges associated with being a construction worker, as well as the elaboration of appropriate educational measures on the part of construction-site foremen and supervisors. The existing personnel shortages point to the need to continue work on free Saturdays. Some enterprises have already adopted this practice last year. This measure was particularly needed as regards finishing operations in the dwellings and associated facilities scheduled for completion before the end of last year. It is needed this year, too, and we count on initiatives in this respect. The problems identified above should be tackled by the basic party organizations on construction sites and in construction enterprises. Special requirements should be posed to all party members rather than just those holding managerial posts at enterprises.

The role of party cells in construction is to orient the activities of the enterprise work forces and management in the direction of higher production, greater efficiency and improved quality of work as well as reduced materials-intensiveness and improved social services and living conditions of the work forces. We also expect of party cells in construction a critical appraisal of instances of waste and poor management as well as the formulation, on that basis, of specific recommendations addressed to the enterprise management and province authorities. In addition, conditions should be provided for promoting the activity of rationalizers and inventors and introducing profitable technical solutions. The prestige of the construction worker should be enhanced, conscientious and good workers should be singled out and opportunities for advancement should be provided for outstanding production organizers. The assessment of the quality and productivity of labor should be linked to the wage system. We propose that during the first half of this year party organizations evaluate the expediency and effectiveness of the incentive systems used in construction enterprises.

#### Delegates' Discussions at Plenary Session

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 28 Feb 83 p 4

[Reprint of comments by Norbert Lysek et al.: "Discussion at Plenary Deliberations of the PZPR Province Committee"]

[Text] Norbert Lysek

Since 1980 housing construction has been in a steep decline. This situation must be remedied without delay, primarily through programs for the recovery of construction, beginning with the building materials industry. In that industry what matters is not only reducing the production cost with the object of halting price increases and stabilizing prices. This concerns chiefly a vigorous expansion of the output of these scarce materials and utilization of local raw material sources. This precisely was the path taken by the Silesian Lime Industry Works in Tarnow Opolski, where chances for increasing lime production are perceived to lie chiefly in the utilization of uninstalled kiln facilities. Referring to this chance in the recommendations, N. Lysek proposed, among other things, the application of lower turnover taxes. The funds thus economized would augment the plant development fund and thereby serve to implement many technological measures to reduce the shortages of building materials.

Henryk Pawlowski

On the premise that it is possible to build 600 dwellings annually in Kedzierzyn-Koziel, the speaker stressed that the maintenance--given a certain growth rate--of such a pace of construction would serve to alleviate greatly the extremely difficult housing situation in that city. But there exist major obstacles to the implementation of this far from ambitious program. The principal obstacle is the lack of funds for installing utilities in the newly planned "Wschod II" Housing Project. Thus, the possibility of building 3,000 dwelling is placed under a question mark and even now appropriate steps should be taken to include the development of that land in the plan--successively, starting with the current year and ending in 1986.



The remainder of the speech dealt with planning and design confusion and the absence of coordination in construction projects between urban- and province-level institutions. This affects very adversely the coordination of investments and--in the speaker's opinion--a large part of the blame for this is borne by the Directorate for the Expansion of Cities and Rural Settlements. Another barrier to the conduct of a sensible housing policy--as exemplified by the BLACHOWNIA Combine--is the unrealistic housing regulations which impede a flexible exchange of dwellings adapted to the actual needs of individual families. For example, a family of two persons occupies a four-room dwelling while a family of seven persons lives in a two-room dwelling.

Benedykt Cysewski

He illustrated the dramatic housing situation in Ozimek. In practice, the 366 new dwellings planned for the period until 1990 solve nothing. Ozimek is centered about the local iron and steel plant and that plant, in connection with its expansion, needs to hire more workers--besides, 500 new workers already are needed. The local labor market cannot provide that much manpower. Had housing been available, new workers could have been hired. For the time being, private construction cannot be relied upon. As the prices of materials and services increase, as well as in view of the supply and credit difficulties, marked stagnation is likely to occur there. To top it all, housing cooperatives have abandoned their activities in Ozimek, and while employees of the iron and steel plant still have some chance to obtain dwellings built by that plant, where can housing be obtained for, e.g. teachers? Chief Cysewski realizes that the country is in a crisis. This is all the more reason why he urgently expects help from the province administration. For all that has been built in Ozimek so far was prompted and funded by the iron and steel plant. It is time to at least equalize these proportions.

Jan Pikor

The housing situation in Brzeg is worse than in any other city in the province. Worse even--the speaker declared--than ensues from official statistics. If, for example, the housing conditions there be brought close to those in Nysa (where they also are bad), 684 dwellings would have to be immediately released for occupancy. Yet this year only 83 were released. If this trend persists, the waiting period for dwellings in Brzeg will be not 12 but 17-18 years.

The Brzeg aktiv is doing a great deal to alleviate the situation at least partially. Youth-patronage construction is developing fairly well, and in addition the city's largest factories--the BESEL Electric Motor Factory, the AGROMET Agricultural Machinery Factory, and BEWAG [expansion unknown] are providing considerable assistance: despite their own manpower problems, they assign their employees to the newly established Brzeg Construction Enterprise which urgently needs more manpower, especially skilled workers capable of performing the finishing operations most in demand. These factories also have pledged themselves to assist in procuring the resources for land development, without which housing construction will have ground to a halt by 1986. A total of 170 million zlotys may be collected for this purpose from work establishments, but the development of land for the new Rataje Housing Project will on the whole require half a billion zlotys more. Yet this amount still is not envisaged in the plan and hence constant reminders are being addressed to the province authorities and the

Brzeg activists are concerned, because the investment projects in question are to be initiated only after 1986.

Roman Troszczynski

We live in a crisis. Can in such a situation steps be taken to expand housing construction? I mean, to expand it in disregard of elementary, eternal economic laws? After all housing construction, like any other sphere of life, has to be linked to the increase in material production, to national income. Once something is available for distribution, resources can also be found for this currently most urgent social goal. Thus, instead of spelling out, calculating and enumerating needs, one should simply produce more, earn national income.

Concerning the proposals made, secretary Troszczynski raised the question of jurisdiction over the land allotted for construction; in this opinion, this jurisdiction should belong to the people's councils, which would simplify and expedite the preliminary stage of the investment process. In addition, he insisted that priority in material supplies should be given to single-family construction. This is nearly a political issue as well, considering that the state has promised relief for private home builders and that this promise should not become a rubber check undermining the trust of the people in the authorities.

Konstanty Chmielewski

Output and labor productivity in construction are declining. The speaker considers a major reason for this to be the exports of construction services, that is, the dissipation of construction capacities on contracts that are not always profitable. Then there also are the shortages of building materials--not only cement, bricks and aggregate but also, say, various plastics which are particularly scarce according to the ministry of construction. It is better to commit capacities to a rapid activation of investment projects in chemical industry such as the "OXO" alcohol installations at the AZOTY Nitrogen Works--and cease to be dependent on the imports of plastics for construction. Exports are needed, of course, but only to places where the presence of the Polish side is indispensable as--otherwise--we would deprive ourselves of basic raw materials for the economy.

According to comrade Chmielewski, it is universally understood and accepted that we do not export grain if we do not have it, and that similarly, in order to have more grain, we do not sell fertilizers abroad. Yet no one is restraining small but active pro-export lobby in the construction industry which places main emphasis not on implementing domestic tasks but on procuring new foreign contracts. Such is the reason behind the sad reality which, for the KEDZIERZYN Nitrogen Works, also consists in the fact that despite its critically low manpower level, that combine lacks 500 dwellings for its employees, even though adequate housing is a basic requirement for a plant's retention of its work force.

Jozef Badek

He stated that in the Strzeleccki Gmina the chief emphasis is placed on the repair and renovation of the already existing housing stock. But material shortages continue to hamper the situation, so that last year's targets were fulfilled only 85 percent. This situation prompts developing local and private production of building materials, but such production is being hobbled by, for

example, the problem with the brick kiln, which used to operate and to provide farmers with adequate supplies of bricks until suddenly the chief of the Gmina Office decided to halt the development of the local clay deposit. J. Badek declared: "I say this in the conviction that the Opole Province Governor will help cancel that decision."

Roman Stryczek

Discussing the housing situation of the youth, the vice chairman of the ZSMP Province Board declared that the organization he represents is taking many steps with the object of at least partially alleviating the housing shortage. Owing to these efforts, 486 dwellings were released for occupancy to those who needed them most--and who at the same time commit themselves to building their own dwellings. Yet, certain elements of local administration and housing cooperatives hinder instead of promoting the initiative of young people by confronting them with numerous formal barriers. There are exceptions, of course, such as Opole where cooperation between the ZSMP and the city party echelon and both housing cooperatives has been quite good.

Expressing the (broadly consulted) views of the aktiv of the ZSMP, the vice chairman of that organization championed, among other things, the need to organize and introduce the provision of expert advice for private home builders, draft a list of developed building lots envisaged for construction projects that are no longer feasible, prepare a set of designs of low-cost single-family houses and consider seriously the detection and utilization of dwellings which have been standing vacant for years and are inhabited only in theory.

Jan Migon

He praised the program for housing construction drafted in the province for the next few years, regarding it as a realistic program adapted to the needs insofar as possible and intended to shorten the waiting time for cooperative housing applicants. If this program is implemented, all the obvious pluses will be complemented by one more: people will trust the authorities more. J. Migon described what is being done in behalf of construction in the smaller urban centers and specifically in Glogowek. Given the shortages of basic construction capacities, the capacities of repair enterprises are being mobilized on this front. But this at once raises a problem: repair enterprises are not entitled to allotments of building materials. More exactly, their allotments are very modest, designed for repair purposes rather than construction purposes. Thus, a rigid distribution system is nipping local initiative in the bud.

Jozef Spyrka

Citing examples from Glubczyce, the speaker pointed to inconsistency in the activities of province-level economic organizations. A major example--with painful consequences--is the fact that in the last 10 years the Glubczyce Rayon Enterprise of Communal and Housing Management [RPGKiM] has been reorganized six times. Such measures always adversely affect the fulfillment of the tasks of the RPGKiM in that city. Since there is no enterprise in Glubczyce capable of handling the complex whole of construction (or capital repair) operations, the housing situation is growing worse each year. The city's own Rayon Repair-Construction Enterprise [RPR-B] has been disbanded while the Glogowek RPR-R has a rather bad reputation in Glubczyce, even though its reputation in other cities is good. Not everyone treats Glubczyce as a leper so far as investment projects are concerned.

For example, the Kedzierzyn Construction Enterpris [KPB] has rapidly built 180 dwellings of exemplary quality in Glubczyce. But the KPB will not handle repair and that is why the city needs its own company of the RPR-B type considering that we need 1,700-2,000 dwellings. This shortage could be partially alleviated by erecting taller buildings in the downtown area, but for now no one is doing it.

Zbigniew Mikolajewicz

Three factors restrict construction in Opole: the availability of building lots, investment funds and construction capacity. As for land, it exists but it is restricted owing to the high farming value of its soils. But the protection of farming land should not mean at the same time hampering the development of construction, because local realities have to be considered insted of hewing blindly to the letter and spirit of the law. Yet--the province governor further stated--exemptions from that law are decided upon far away in Warsaw. This unnecessarily delays matters and complicates the investment process. Why could not these decisions be entrusted to the province governor, who after all is responsible for the food economy in his province and, if only for this reason, would not be likely to be anxious to sign decisions to expropriate agricultural land for construction purposes? The delegating of the pertinent rights to the local authorities should be considered.

As for funds, we have precisely the funds specified in the province budget. But the budget is modest. Besides, the central authorities have always been miserly toward the Opole Province, because /"The Opole land is thrifty and industrious: it will somehow manage without our help."/ [printed in boldface] Z. Mikolajewicz stressed that such treatment of our region should change.

As for construction capacities, they are sizable in the province, being on the scale of 14 billion zlotys of operations annually. But the autonomy of the enterprises should not be tantamount to self-will. The point is that they made agreements with the ministry, that there were promises that industrial construction enterprises would join in implementing the tasks of general construction. In reality, however, what happened was that construction operations have been shifted to the area of the Katowice Province. Unless these and similar practices are ended, no program will be realistic.

Adam Bebenek

The program drafted at the province level specifies the numbers of dwellings and single-family houses to be built in Zdzeszowice. On the other hand, the same organ of the administration--but surely a different department--issued a directive prohibiting the construction of new houses and even the cultivation of new kitchen-gardens in Zdzeszowice owing to considerations of environmental protection. The speaker cited this example without commenting on it. In addition, as based on the program presented to the session participants, he asked the important question: "If 64 percent of the scheduled building lots are privately owned, how can this be reconciled with the Constitutional protection of privately owned land?"

Another thesis was: build new projects--or repair the existing housing stock. In the opinion of comrade Bebenek, it takes less time, effort and reources to build new housing than to repair old, and besides the effects produced in the latter case are incommensurately low compared to the outlays made.



Lastly, a piquant example from Zdzieszowice was cited. The construction contractor (Kedzierzyn Construction Enterprise) built a multi-family apartment building with an exceptionally large number of flaws. The investor (a housing cooperative) refused acceptance. But the pressure exerted by people waiting for apartments was so great that--after deducting 10 percent of the investment cost--the defective building was accepted and the company calmly credited these apartments to itself in the plan.

Zygmunt Rugowski

The crisis conditions should necessitate a different, more modest view on construction--a view based on narrower appetites and aspirations. The housing famine could be more rapidly eliminated by building more dwellings with a smaller number of rooms each. Yet, high multi-room standards continue to be followed even though we cannot afford them owing to, among other things, supply difficulties. Besides, this also applies to private home building. In the West poorer families are offered designs of houses with a dwelling area of 60-80 sq m whereas in our country the private investors complain because regulations do not permit them to build houses with a dwelling area of more than 220 meters.

Stanislaw Lesniak

His comments were entirely devoted to the interrelationship of construction, industry and environmental protection. This is a particularly keen problem to the Lesnica Gmina in view of the proximity of the Zdzieszowice KOKSOWNIA Coke Plant. Nine years ago a protective zone comprising the village of Krasowa was set up. Twenty-nine farms were to be bought up, so that their owners were enjoined from making any farming investments. Yet even now these 23 farms still exist, condemned to stagnation.

Recently a somewhat similar situation arose in Lesnica itself. One-half of the city turned out to be within the protective zone, and hence became subject to the prohibition against any new construction. That decision was made at the province level. At the same time--comrade Lesniak further declared--the Province Territorial Planning Office established that...construction in that very area was possible. Sites were chosen, land was bought up from 13 farmers, materials were stockpiled and 10 million zlotys was spent. Thus, the speaker favored coordination of decisions. He also drew attention to the fact that the Coking Works in Zdzieszowice pays each year 95 million zlotys for environmental protection. The Lesnica Gmina is the most exposed to pollution from its industrial neighbor, yet it never yet received one zloty from these payments. Thus the speaker asked that some part of these payments be allocated for the most urgent needs of Lesnica and the surrounding villages.

Edward Waszak

The representative of the heads of the construction ministry declared that all actions taken by the ministry are intended to halt the decline in the number of dwellings released for occupancy. The central plan for this year provides for the completion of 105,000-115,000 dwellings by socialized construction. The ministry is doing everything to augment that figure to 139,000, which would exceed last year's level. To improve material supplies, at present, in addition to hospitals and the technical infrastructure, it is precisely housing construction that receives priority. Construction industry enterprises have adopted targets that are 10 percent higher than last year. The targets assigned to industrial construction enterprises were accepted by them for implementation.

Concerning the issues raised during the discussion, deputy minister Waszak took a position on many debatable and questionable matters. He declared that the question of giving priority to the employees of construction enterprises as regards the allocation of housing is not a matter to be decided by the central authorities. In several provinces this question was settled by allotting to construction workers 5 percent of all dwellings released for occupancy in any given year. In view of the shortage of footwear for workers, appropriate decisions were made: according to the information provided by the government, this matter will be settled this year. Material supplies for single-family construction leave much to be desired. Deputy minister Waszak stated that perhaps this matter should be settled by adopting the solution mandatory in the GDR, where the entire supply of building materials for that purpose is under the jurisdiction of the minister of construction.

During the plenary discussion, the issue of excessive construction exports was raised. Edward Waszak declared that it is not true that such exports have grown. Currently about 30,000 Poles are working on foreign construction sites. Last year no new contract in this respect has been signed. The speaker stated: "Please consider that construction exports are, next to coal exports, the most profitable type of exports for our country. At the same time, employment on domestic construction sites has not increased--contrary to what some believe--but tends to decline. Many graduates of the schools of building trades are simply transferring to other occupations."

During the discussion the Opole Province Governor had asked why has the Katowice Province Governor taken over part of industrial construction capacities from the area of Opole without consulting the Opole province authorities. Clarifying this matter, deputy minister Waszak stated that the Katowice governor has not taken over the construction enterprises operating in his province, as has been the case in, e.g. the Opole region. In this connection, the ministry authorities have established the Silesian Industrial Construction Board. The deputy minister further stated: "I can assure you, though, that the infrastructure in the Opole Province will also be built by industrial and specialized enterprises operating in other provinces, but primarily by the OPBP [Opole State Industrial Enterprises] Nos. 1 and 2 and the INSTAL Construction and Installation Enterprise."

Jozef Pawlik

He devoted much attention to considerations of quality, showing how much quality is influenced by shoddy construction materials, chiefly joinery, inserts and tarboard. Of course, this increases construction cost, but what is worse, it delays the pace of construction and upsets the fulfillment schedules. In addition to the repair of defects, additional operations not considered in any norm or schedule become multiplied. The speaker asked, why is that so in construction? And he answered that the reason is the shortage of tools, special equipment and spare parts for concrete mixers and other facilities. Other causes: poor construction sites and deplorable working conditions. These difficulties and neglects will not be eliminated by any perks: when the Charter of the Construction Worker was proclaimed, mention was made of giving priority in the allocation of housing to the very individuals who build housing, but this still remains writ in water. It is thus not surprising that skilled workers are abandoning the construction trades and there is no enthusiastic influx of

replacements. Ultimately, the manpower shortages also affect the quality of construction operations and result in low productivity and construction delays.

PHOTO CAPTIONS

Top of page: Behind the stage  
Bottom: Conference room

Secretary Manfred Gorywoda's Speech

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 28 Feb 83 p 4

[[Part of] texts edited by Andrzej Mach, Jan Plaskon and Jacek Szwedkowicz and photographs taken by Tadeusz Kwasniewski: "Measures Taken as Regards Housing Construction Must Be Comprehensive: (Highlights of Speech by Manfred Gorywoda, Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee)"]

[Text] Manfred Gorywoda took a position in his speech on the principal issues raised during the plenary discussion. He stated that housing construction is among the country's most important social and economic problems. The party devotes great attention to construction matters, thereby confirming the continuation of the line of the 9th Congress. Construction at present absorbs 30 percent of the state's investment outlays, so that proportionately the resources allotted to other branches of the economy are much lower than in the 1970s. But all the investments still have not affected current public consumption. The Central Committee secretary stated: "I believe that, given the current decline in living standards, any further increase in total outlays at the expense of consumption would be unrealistic. It would mean not only lower consumption but also further price increases. That is why everyone must understand that only that which is produced can be distributed, nothing more, and that nowadays no one will grant us loans. The principal direction of surmounting the crisis is the fight against inflation. the possibilities for increasing investment outlays on all types of construction will be decided by the general economic situation and the rise in national income. The greater that income is, the more will that 30 percent mean in absolute figures."

Secretary Gorywoda stressed that in the present situation the question of how to build the largest possible number of dwellings with the available resources should primarily be resolved. He further stated that the cash resources of the population and enterprises should also be mobilized for this purpose. The increase in low-interest loans for private home builders should stimulate interest in single-family house construction among the population. The youth, in particular, should be borne in mind. For example, 1,500 young people interested in this type of construction have registered so far at the Lenin Shipyard. Manfred Gorywoda declared that it is highly important that young people be enabled to build their own dwellings with assistance from the state. The Central Committee secretary further declared that the plants and enterprises developing their own housing construction will benefit from lower income tax rates. The point is that investment outlays should be augmented through the participation of the very people who need housing as well as of their work establishments.

On the other hand, reducing the construction costs should be a goal; the current trend should be halted. There exist many objective causes of the high costs, but subjective causes also are many. For example, there is the inefficient use of building materials or the low labor productivity in construction; studies show

that last year that productivity was barely 76 percent compared with 1979. The elimination of these shortcomings is tantamount to building many additional dwellings. Hence, secretary Gorywoda stressed, there is a need for an economic system such that construction enterprises would provide the conditions for the application of the economic reform. The speaker stated that the heads of the construction ministry have been charged with new tasks serving to attain this goal. But these tasks require systematic work and cannot be accomplished overnight.

In order to emerge from the current nadir in construction, all actions must be based on a correctly functioning system for the supply of building materials. Such a system has already been designed in cooperation with the province governors. Also important are problems of improving construction technologies and architectural solutions. The decree on land management requires updating. The related proposals are already drafted and in the immediate future they should, following their review by the government, be submitted to the Parliament. A more efficient utilization of the available construction capacities is needed, especially as regards house-building factories which should also produce for the needs of single-family and rural construction. Great importance should be attached to the proper upkeep of the existing housing stock. This is complicated by material shortages and the small number of appropriate repair enterprises. Secretary Gorywoda stressed that the establishment of artisan enterprises for this purpose should be encouraged.

The speaker further declared: "The question of the allocation of housing remains highly debatable. What should be done to give priority to those who need it most? Who should handle the allocation? the housing cooperatives or the work establishment, which need skilled workers and can entice them by offering them housing?

"The question of allotting priority in housing to employees of construction enterprises, as mentioned in the draft of the charter of the employees of that branch, has been raised during the discussion. We must realize that in recent times many privileges have been granted, often under duress or dictated by emotions. How can these privileges be actually implemented these days? That is, how is it possible in practice to 'bypass the queue' and allot housing to all those who build it by occupation?"

Manfred Gorywoda stated that the discussion at the Plenum of the Opole Province Committee demonstrated how many decisions still are needed regarding housing construction. The inspiring and monitoring participation of the entire party is indispensable here. Problems of housing construction particularly relate to the situation of the youth and are associated with alleviating the frustration and discouragement of the rising generation. Hence all positive actions in that respect are simultaneously of a political nature and serve to implement the tasks outlined by the 9th Congress.

In conclusion, the Central Committee secretary once more emphasized that all actions concerning housing construction must be of a comprehensive nature and intended to promote all initiatives of the population. Wherever the existing possibilities can be better exploited, the management of work establishments, the worker self-governments, the nascent trade unions and the youth organizations may not remain passive.



GENERAL CONDEMNS WESTERN ARMS BUILDUP

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Apr 83 p 9

[Interview with Gen Bde Czeslaw Dega, Army General Staff Academy]

[Excerpts] America's arms build-up policies include provisions for supplying U.S. Armed Forces with new nuclear missiles. These designs, which are to give the United States a military edge, further jeopardize peace and security in Europe and elsewhere, and call forth deep and understandable concern within the Polish nation.

The Polish Press Agency asked General Czeslaw Dega, professor at the Polish Army's General Staff Academy, to comment on the consequences and dangers involved in this new phase of America's nuclear missile build-up. This is what Dega told PAP:

One horrifying fact of recent years is the mad arms race, in which nuclear-tipped missiles are perhaps the all-decisive factor.

With the tragedy of World War II still in memory, the Polish nation is following the talks on strategic arms limitation between the two superpowers with more concern than other nations. All of us are worried by U.S. intransigence in its obvious bid to secure a dominant position for itself in the missile arms race. Our anxiety stems from the awareness that many missiles of enormous destructive power are trained on Poland, a relatively small country situated in an exceptionally sensitive spot in Europe. A massive strike by huge missiles puts a question mark over the Polish nation's chance for survival.

In 1974, the Pentagon signed a contract with Martin Marietta Corporation to design a new type of nuclear-tipped missile, the Pershing II, that can reach targets at distances up to 1,980 km. These new missiles are reported to be extremely accurate, as they stand a 50 percent chance of hitting targets with a 25-meter accuracy radius. Moreover, Pershing II's are said to have extended ranges, covering all Polish territory and areas farther to the east. Their easy-to-change trajectories as well as their high speed considerably curb possibilities to destroy them before take-off or during flight. These new Pershings are ready for installation in Western Europe.

Another highly accurate weapon is the cruise missile. American military experts regard this winged nuclear-tipped projectile as the most significant new weapon produced in the West after multiple-warhead missiles. The cruise missiles, which are often referred to as lethal flying cigars [sic], may be fired from land-, sea-, and air-borne launchers. Depending on the version, their ranges are between 600 and 3,600 km. Their targeting system controls their trajectory precisely, even at altitudes below 30 m, and enables them to hit targets with nearly a 10-meter accuracy. Americans believe existing anti-aircraft defense systems are of little use against the cruise missile, which can travel just 20-30 m above ground.

The Pershing II's, but especially the cruise missiles, create an entirely new quality of threat to the other side--the Warsaw Pact countries. These missiles enhance uncertainty during identification of dangers, and so are bound to complicate the negotiations on disarmament in the SALT process in Madrid and Vienna [sic]. One fundamental mistake American strategists make is that they ignore past experience, which supplies evidence enough that the Soviet Union has now, or will have in the near future, similar missiles.

Any soldier who has survived a war knows from experience how cruel and horrible conventional artillery shelling can be, how closely it brings men to death. And this experience cannot even be compared to what are now conceivable strikes by nuclear-tipped missiles, with their accompanying blast waves and total fire of thermal radiation. Plain common sense should make every Pole fiercely oppose the Pentagon's plans, so that missiles trained on Poland will never take off.

(PAP)

OSD: 1800/814

# FIGURES ON ALCOHOLISM, DRUG ADDICTION CITED

Warsaw SLUZBA ZDROWIA in Polish No 13, 27 Mar 83 p 5

[Article by Maria Czesninowa: "Bad Habits Unsafe for Life and Health"]

[Text] The Presidium meeting of the PZPR Commission for Public and Environmental Health Protection 18 March of this year was devoted to research on the causes outlining dimensions and results, and methods of counteracting social bad habits: alcoholism, drug addiction, cigarette smoking. A member of the Central Committee's Politburo--Zofia Grzyb--led the proceedings, to which representatives of many social organizations and administrative departments were invited.

We drink a lot; increasingly so. In comparison with 1938, the consumption of alcohol per person in 1982 had increased fivefold; in the course of the last 20 years, twofold. In 1950 every statistical inhabitant of the country consumed 3 liters of pure 100 percent spirits, in 1980--8.4 liters, in 1982--6.3 liters. The drop in consumption of alcoholic beverages shown by the Chief Central Statistical Office [GUS] however doesnot take the considerable increase in the production and consumption of illegally-distilled moonshine into consideration. In the first half of 1982 over 10,000 such crimes were brought to light--18 times more than during an analogous period of 1981.

We have 2-2.3 million (estimated figures) excessive drinkers in the country; among those 600-900,000 affected by an addiction to alcohol. Alcoholic treatment encompasses only 15-20 percent of these people. Treatment efforts after all are not helped by meager facilities: barely 60 alcoholic treatment centers in the country with a total bed count of 3354 as well as seven treatment centers with a total of 715 beds.

The highest number of drinkers is found among men between the ages of 21-29, and therefore those in the best period of their productive age, those starting a family, those having underage children. It can be estimated, that about one million children and young people grow up in families in which both or one of the parents overuses alcohol.

We drink in an uncultured manner which is most harmful for our health: high percent alcohol and in large amounts. The number of people who drink two

or more times a week goes over the 4.5 million mark. A considerable number of these people drink about 120 liters of vodka annually per person--an average of a liter every 3 days.

It is more difficult to obtain figures on drug addiction. Ten to 20 years ago it still appeared to us that it was a phenomenon caused exclusively by the western style of life and social conditions found there. The truth showed itself to be quite different: drug addiction as a worldwide phenomenon has attacked our youth also, reaching in a short time the third level of development--that is, drug production and drug traffic within our country today.

The drug-addict subculture attracts young people especially, frequently young enough to almost be considered children: 14-15 year olds, predominantly from large city environments.

Estimated figures place the number of people using intoxicating substances for nonmedical purposes at 120-150,000 and the number of addicts requiring treatment at 15-20,000, whereas treatment encompasses only about 4,000 addicts.

The number of poisonings as a result of overuse or narcotic overdose is growing considerably. In 1981, 373 cases came to light, from which 80 resulted in death (compared with 19 deaths in 1979 and 33 in 1980).

Finally the third plague--cigarette smoking--which for dozens of years was treated as a harmless habit. Today, medicine quite differently evaluates that seemingly harmless activity. Research conducted throughout the whole world indicates a direct contact between overuse of tobacco and certain forms of tumors as well as heart and circulatory diseases. In deaths which one must connect to uncontrolled smoking, doctors are beginning to detect one of the causes for slowing down the rise of the average increased life expectancy of men in Poland. Children whose mothers smoked during pregnancy weighed less by about 200 grams than children whose mothers did not smoke. Also, about 10 years are necessary for children of women who smoked during pregnancy to make up for the fatal results of anoxaemia during the embryonic period.

About 12 million people in the country smoke; among these about 45 percent of the women. Young people smoke. It even happens that children smoke.

In 1979 the statistical Pole smoked 2,700 cigarettes, breaking the record in Europe. Statistics do not indicate that Polish doctors smoke less than the general public, whereas in the United States only 11 percent of all doctors smoke and 17 percent in Scandinavian countries.

In addition we smoke those types of cigarettes which contain the highest amount of carcinogenic substances. About 65 percent of all cigarettes sold in Poland do not have filters. On the other hand we smoke everywhere in essence, calmly and with cold composure poisoning also those who do not want



to smoke but have the bad luck to find themselves in the same room with smokers.

It's obvious that these three social bad habits cannot be identified as equal. For their dimensions are different as are their peculiarities, results, and base for counteraction. On the other hand several elements link them together. They all have negative individual and social effects. They are characterized by the complicity of the problem, a great dynamic development and an unfavorable forecast for the future.

It would be a simplification to say that everyone in this country is guilty. Drinking, drug addiction, and smoking, after all, were not sent on us by the forces of nature. A person can choose the kind of life style that eliminates bad habits and their effects. Does he always make that choice himself?

That question is not at all rhetorical, even if we take into consideration the fact that a bad habit frequently draws in children or very young people, and a second fact: enormous pressure from an environment that has full understanding toward someone that is slightly intoxicated but open suspicion toward teetotalers ("Maybe he's insincere, seeing that he even refuses a shot").

Treating someone to a cigarette is a courteous gesture. A request that someone else not smoke in a closed room is taken as bad manners. Finally--narcotics. Long believing that we did not have a problem, we did not start protecting our children in time (as a form of protection I would gladly accept state control of poppy-seed production, which would prevent the poppy-stem trade). Last of all, we began with methods that were not the best--describing the vivid, rose-colored, erotically-inclined dreams of hippies and providing them with an unconvincing commentary, stating that in the future one will have to pay highly for such a pleasure.

Of course, social pathology does not exist in a vacuum and is always caused by some types of frustrating social situations. However, the fact that alcoholism, drug addiction, and excessive cigarette smoking as a phenomena are harassing the whole world, testifies to the fact that apparently every social situation is frustrating.

It was clearly discussed at the conference that it is unusually hard to cure (yes--cure--because here at a given stage we are already concerned with a disease) adults whose physical and mental health has seriously suffered.

Of course, through curing people of these illnesses we should develop the vital groundwork and education of personnel. However, we are not adequately prepared at this time to successfully fight either alcoholism, which we have known for years (although we already have one law, evaluated once as a very good one, and a second law which has already been passed), or drug addiction, still continually treated unjustly as a marginal and somewhat exotic phenomenon. This does not even consider cigarette smoking.

In the end, all legal regulations, although badly needed and long-awaited, create only a framework which must be filled in by everyday work. Work not only by professional personnel, but by the most sincere social activist and practically speaking, by the whole society.

In order to coordinate and improve activities of administrative departments, institutions, and social organizations, it appears that the call by chairman of the Ministers' Council Interdepartmental Commission to fight bad habits (alcoholism, drug addiction, cigarette smoking) is necessary. The commission would work out complex programs of prevention as well as draw up opinions, evaluations, and also conclusions which would be presented next to the government and social organizations. of course, this will be done without imposing anything on these independent organizations.

It also appears that all plans must above all place emphasis on preventive action, and within that, on education of the young generation to be free from bad habits. No one claims that it is an easy matter; especially because drug addiction is based precisely among young people. However, every person who is not indifferent to the future of the country must rush to help. Doctors, educators, journalists, members of the Polish Red Cross, Polish Scouts' Association and village, youth, and women's organizations can give a certain tone to this action. However, its effectiveness will be decided by the attitude of the everyday citizen in the street, who passively does not want to agree with or look upon pathological phenomena, but who all the more so already quietly approves of it.

The work environment is just as decisive in this, especially if we consider alcoholism. Condemnation of a drunk by his own friends from the factory or office, can become a turning point in his future life.

Prevention can also take the form of an early cure, for which a desire by the sick person himself to be cured is especially important in the case of these bad habits. In connection with this, we very badly need to develop well-directed Monar centers which would return seriously-threatened youth to a normal life. Because of this problem we also need significantly to expand (and in many areas of the country, outright development of previously non-existent facilities) alcoholics anonymous clubs and also programs to fight cigarette smoking.

The social needs here are great and continually growing. Problems which need to be solved are cropping up more and more. As a result, a course of action must be plotted over many years. Without fooling ourselves with a perspective of quick and effective success, we should first outline the forms and methods of this action precisely and then later competently bring them into reality. We should also begin with ourselves and with our closest surroundings; especially among health service workers, whose health attitudes frequently are treated as a model by society.

12281  
CSO: 2600/694

ARMY WEEKLY INTERVIEWS POLITBURO MEMBER KALKUS

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 8, 20 Feb 83 pp 5, 18

[Interview with Stanislaw Kalkus, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the PZPR, by Wladyslaw Misiolek; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Comrade, let me begin by asking...

[Answer] First I have a question: Would you like some coffee? My wife put a jar of coffee, a heating coil and a mug in my briefcase, so I'll make... (The conversation took place in the dormitory of the Higher School of Social Sciences during Stanislaw Kalkus's stay in Warsaw--W.M.). Don't be bashful; I have coffee. We don't drink alcohol at home, so we buy coffee with our ration coupons...What were you going to ask?

[Question] Is Politburo member Stanislaw Kalkus still a worker?

[Answer] For 33 years I've been going to work in the morning and punching the time clock at "Gegielski". Do I have to? I want to. I want to for two reasons: I believe that I should combine party activity with professional work, and second, I will be a member of the Politburo for a while, but I was, am, and will remain a worker. I don't want to leave my place of work and my friends.

[Question] You grew up and have roots in the party's bottom echelon.

[Answer] Not in the bottom echelon, in the base. They don't like the word "bottom" in Poznan; they ask: "What sort of bottom are we?"

[Question] You grew up and have roots in the party's base, and at the same time you are in the party's highest leadership body. Tell me, then: Where is the process of renewing the party more difficult--in the top echelon and its apparatus, or in the base among the rank-and-file members?

[Answer] There's no problem of renewing the party's leadership bodies and apparatus; that's been finished. New comrades elected before and at the Ninth Congress have joined the leadership bodies as well as the party apparatus. There were some changes later on, too. These comrades, hardened in the difficult struggle with the radical element of "Solidarity", fully

bear out the words of Gen Jaruzelski: "The party is the same but not the same": Not the same, because fly-by-nighters, careerists and weaklings have left the party. One can say that quantity has passed into quality, which is all to the party's benefit. Thanks to this, the PZPR is not only a party of understanding but a party of struggle.

[Question] The rebirth of the PZPR is also a matter of consolidating its forces. Is there a threat to party unity?

[Answer] Not in the workers' party organizations! Of course, they have discussions there too, individual members differ in their views on various issues, but these are not differences that threaten party unity. There is no such threat in the base, because workers aren't divided by personal ambition and doctrinal rivalries; they're united by their work. The worker wants his labor to bear fruit and wants a better life for all of us, which is exactly the program of the Ninth Congress. This program is designed to meet the demands of the party's base.

As for the party leadership, it is least exposed to factional activity.

The only danger to party unity exists among the intelligentsia. They are divided at present, and since their discussions and polemics are very loud, it may seem that their divisions are the divisions of the entire party. I wouldn't overestimate this danger, because the unity and condition of the party are determined by its base and its workers' and peasants' organizations.

[Question] Comrades from the GDR have a slogan: "Wherever you find a party member, you find the party." I haven't heard it in our country, but words aren't the main thing, of course; attitudes are. You know the party base well, so tell me: Can our fighting party rely on the militancy of its members?

[Answer] It can't rely on all of them yet, but it can rely on the great majority! Were this not the case, there would not be a fighting party after the events of August 1980. And yet it proved capable of offensive actions. If the reverse had been true, the results of underground activity would have been different and the underground would not have suffered defeat last year. The fact that workers ignored the appeal for street demonstrations and strikes was due largely to party comrades in the labor force.

[Question] Enemies of the party claim that it wouldn't be able to bring as many people into the streets as they did.

[Answer] First of all, they didn't bring out as many people as they claim; they brought out mostly disoriented and inexperienced youngsters. Second, remember the May Day demonstrations in 1981 and 1982... Hundreds of thousands of people took part in the processions. And participation in the May Day demonstration required a statement of allegiance to the party. Take the example of Poznan in 1981: "Solidarity" activists, wanting to disrupt the May Day procession, took pictures of the marchers. People knew about this, but they still participated in the demonstration.



[Question] But the May Day procession is a tradition, almost a family tradition...

[Answer] It's also a socialist, workers' tradition supported by the party ...Getting back to our adversaries' claims--I'm convinced that if the party in June, August, or November had called upon its members and sympathizers to go into the streets, it would have met with a positive nationwide response. It did not attempt this not because it wasn't sure of support, but out of a feeling of responsibility. Only troublemakers indifferent to the fate of the people and the nation could have the audacity to bring people into the streets.

[Question] Comrade Kalkus, you said that the backbone of the party is its workers' organizations. That's obvious. The doubts begin, however, when one considers the place and role of these organizations in mines, shipyards, and factories. Our adversaries have claimed that the party doesn't belong there. We party members, on the other hand, don't want to return to the old pattern where the party was involved in everything and practically managed the workplace. In view of this, what should the party organization be, at the "Cegielski" Works, for example?

[Answer] If one compares the workplace to the human body, the party organization should be its brain for supervising its orderly operation. This doesn't mean running the workplace, but making sure that all of its divisions function as smoothly as possible--the management, the workers' self-management organs, the trade unions and the youth organization. How can this be done? Certainly not by giving orders. The only effective way to accomplish this is through the influence of party members wherever they may be. Such a view of the party in the workplace isn't a reduction of its role at all, quite the contrary. This view makes the party organization what it should be: the driving force, the guiding political force. The role of administrator was never proper for the party, and nowadays, in the self-managed enterprise, it is simply impossible.

[Question] Continuing the topic of the party organization's role in the workplace, one must ask about the main goals of organizational activity.

[Answer] It has one goal: to deal with people directly, with their needs and problems great and small, for all human problems are important. Dealing with people directly also means dealing with production, because many human problems are solved in the sphere of economics.

[Question] But doesn't "dealing with production directly" threaten the party with "economism"?

[Answer] You call that economism" First of all, the party hasn't renounced its marxist-leninist ideology, nor has it ceased trying to disseminate this ideology. It's precisely for this reason we say the party is the same. Second, economics is a very human concern. We mustn't forget that the fate of the working class, the fate of socialism, the nation and the state, is being decided today in the economic sphere.

I often meet with party members and nonparty people, and believe me, there is no meeting, no discussion, that does not boil down to the question: When are we going to live better? Workers don't want anything for free; they will put their shoulders to the wheel, but they must be certain that their work won't be wasted. The party must assure them of this.

When we say we're a fighting party, this does not mean only the political fight, although we will carry this on consistently; this also means the fight for economic reform, for well organized, efficient and cheap production, and for high but justified salaries. This means the fight against particularism in workplaces throughout the country.

[Question] You speak with great conviction, comrade Kalkus, about the need for the party to become involved with economic issues.

[Answer] Because that comes from my experience. As you know, after August 1980 it wasn't easy for party members to talk with society. As for me, however, workers not only talked with but listened to me. This was because I said what I thought and felt, and because we talked about our workers' issues--production and the standard of living.

[Question] The struggle for the hearts and minds of people is still going on. What conditions must be fulfilled, in your opinion, to ensure the party's success?

[Answer] We must listen closely to what people say, because if people say something, this means that there's a problem and it must be solved. Condition two: the dialogue between the party and society must deal with issues of vital concern to society. And condition three: speak in a simple, understandable and convincing language.

[Question] Is that also the way to win the support of young people? I ask you that because we hear it said that the party has lost them for one or two generations.

[Answer] On what basis is that said? Who claimed that? It's like the problem of the minimum standard of living: it's being said and written that such and such a number of people in Poland are living below the minimum standard, but no one has defined this minimum in a practical sense. Incidentally, at meetings young people are given the following advice on how to live above the minimum standard: a guy should marry a thrifty girl, and a girl should marry a hard-working guy. When that happens, I guarantee there'll be no problem of the minimum standard.

Getting back to your question...The party hasn't lost the young. It hasn't lost them for socialism in Poland, for despite the crisis, the housing problem and many other problems, the young are inheriting a Poland that is completely different from the one we received. One must be blind not to see the tremendous industrial potential we've built up. And education? Although it's imperfect and needs to be reformed, a revolution is being carried out

here too. We didn't waste the past years, although it's true that we could have accomplished much more.

The party hasn't lost the young for itself, either, because it hasn't betrayed them or turned away from them. After all, the program of the Ninth Congress, worked out at the Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee, is primarily a program for the younger generation. Today's youth is the second generation in the history of Poland to face such a great task. My generation was the first. And I believe that like us, today's youth will also achieve something great. I even believe in the enthusiasm of the young; it's only a matter of time. Where do I get my conviction? From the party's program and aspirations.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

12277

CSO: 2600/518

## PZPR COMMISSION DEBATES WAYS TO INCREASE INFLUENCE IN PLANTS

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 7, 30 Mar 83 p 2

[Article by Tadeusz Koladziejczyk: "In the Intra-Party Commission of the Central Committee: To Help Plant Organizations"]

[Text] The experience of recent years has demonstrated that the position and role of party organizations in large industrial plants, whose membership represents the basic segment of the worker class, is of basic importance in the party's leadership of our country's political life and in reinforcing the party's ties with the worker class. The party's ties with plant work forces enable these organizations to increase their offensive capability in actions which combat various phenomena, and make it possible to strengthen our society's confidence in the party's policy.

Beginning with the Ninth Extraordinary Congress, and particularly during the past year, the party initiated many diverse actions in order to restore its position in large industrial plants. Understanding this to be a process, we strive to work out more stable and not emergency-type methods and forms of work of plant party organizations. This problem was also worked on by the Intra-Party Commission of the Central Committee which, together with the Organizational Department of the Central Committee, recently initiated an attempt to help party organizations by pointing out ways and methods of strengthening the party in large industrial plants.

The results of this work to date, in the form of an appropriate document, were debated by the commission at its session on 14 March of the current year. The debate was chaired by Włodzimierz Mokrzyński, deputy member of the Politburo; the following members of the Politburo participated in it: Kazimierz Barcikowski, a secretary of the Central Committee, and Stanisław Kalkus, a foreman in the "H. Cegielski" [locomotive] plant in Poznań. Also invited to the debate was a group of first secretaries of plant committees [KZ] in large plants, in order to have their opinions about the final form of the document that was being prepared.

In his opening remarks prior to the discussion, Witold Gadomski, deputy director of the Organizational Department of the Central Committee, pointed out that the need to prepare a kind of abstract of information on the directions of party work in a plant stems from, among other things, the fact



that essential changes, often to the extent of replacing entire executive boards, have affected party organizations during their last period of existence. The process of replacement will continue, and that means that new comrades in organization authorities, who have had less organizational experience, will be glad to utilize experience which has already proven itself in practice and has become generalized.

The document, whose working title is "Guidelines Regarding Ways of Strengthening the Party in Large Industrial Plants," discusses such basic problems as methods of strengthening the party's guiding and leading role in a plant, improving the ideological and political unity as well as the organization of the party, shaping the worker core of the [party] organization, tasks in the area of ideological education and of propaganda, principles of [party] work with youth, attitude toward plant Citizens' Committees for National Salvation [OKON], tasks in the economic area and in the area of legality, law, and order, the work of plant committees with party aktiv, and types of the Central Committee's ties with [party] organizations in 107 largest plants.

All those who have been accustomed to looking in this type of document for readymade work instructions will be somewhat disappointed by it in areas in which there is perhaps the greatest anticipation of models and suggestions: in matters of relations between plant committees and plant management, in matters of party prerogatives in cadre policy as well as in the area of collaboration of plant committees with employee self-government and with trade unions.

This is not a dodge on the part of the document's authors; in plain words, in these matters and in the present legal situation of enterprises and the present political situation of the workforces, it is only actual social practice that can suggest solutions, examples, and models. Today it would be premature to prejudge methods of action in barely emerging plant situations of dependence, collaboration, and contradiction.

The lively discussion at the Commission's session was concerned both with the document itself, which was expanded to include many additional remarks and supplements, and, in general, with the social and political situation in plants and with related current tasks of the party. Let us mention a few topics here.

#### Plant Organization vs. Plant Management

This problem includes many misunderstandings, irregularities, as well as irritations. The structure of relations here cannot be based on a principle of coexistence, at the plant, of "two parties"—a separate worker party and a separate management and administration party; the party statute is the same for everybody.

This is often related to problems of cadre policy. There are instances of directors being eager to have party recommendation when appointing someone to a managerial position, but being very negatively disposed toward party

attempts to evaluate the work of managers. Therefore, the prevailing opinion was that the party in a plant should not participate directly in personnel decisions but that, on the other hand, it should make regular evaluations of the cadre and of personnel decisions that are made by the administration. Moreover, these evaluations should be public and known to the workforce.

Groups of worker aktivs should be formed only from leading employees and good workmates, because only these enjoy authority in the workforce. In general, the requirement of leadership in work should be particularly emphasized in the party. This applies also to formation of a cadre reserve, which, on the party's initiative, should be formed from the most valuable people, and should really be a "reserve" from which people are called to "active duty."

Considerable interest was produced by a project of creating, in the organizational structure of industrial plants, information, education, and culture centers which would integrate, among other things, scattered educational activities, particularly with regard to young and new employees. However, in order for these centers to be created, it is indispensable to have specific legal regulations and, above all, decisions of employee self-government that would create such centers.

A somewhat different problem was that of party work in the place of residence. The concern here is for party members not to live as strangers in a building which they share, not even knowing one another as party members is bad. Why, intercommunity integration of party members is of importance not only in the case of so-called peasants-workers; in this respect, the city lags far behind.

Discussion participants also stipulated a system of party echelon ties with industrial plants that would favor natural, everyday contacts of party activists with work forces. Committee secretaries do not have to wait for an invitation because, in general, they are invited only where people want to pride themselves on something; it is necessary to go without an invitation to converse, to advise, and to help.

The discussion of the document was characterized by two things: on hand, there was a desire to itemize and include in it as many work suggestions as possible; on the other hand, there was a fear of established patterns and a sensitivity to each new situation and phenomenon in the life of an industrial plant. The commission decided to publicize the expanded and amended document among party organizations in large industrial plants, with the idea that many suggestions therein included could be utilized also by smaller industrial plant organizations.

Taking the floor, Kazimierz Barcikowski emphasized the need to look for effective ways, characteristic of the party, to influence our economy, whose condition is at present a factor which determines our social awareness. Our concern is that the party, in no case becoming a "whip," assume the role of stimulator of intensification of production. While speaking about the party's

internal matters, he stressed the absolute necessity for maintaining party unity, the latter having already been achieved with great difficulty.

Referring to the party's methods of action, Wlodzimierz Mokrzyyszczak warned against cabinet-style work methods and encouraged checking on the presence of party activists in party organizations and among workforces. In matters of cadre policy, he called attention to attachment to old methods and principles which do not suit presentday conditions and needs.

During the session, the following persons took the floor successively in the discussion: Czeslaw Borowski, Artur Kwiatkowski, Franciszek Banko, Romuald Buczek, Aleksander Pajko, Janusz Kubasiewicz, Karol Mokijewski, Stanislaw Rachwal, Marek Pabjan, Jerzy Dabrowski, Jerzy Prusiecki, Wieslaw Bielas, Zdzislaw Daniluk, Stanislaw Kalkus, Zbigniew Ciechan, Igor Lopatynski, Maciej Lubczynski, Henryk Garus, [and] Ludwik Krasucki.

9577

CSO: 2600/670

BLUE COLLAR WORKERS SPEAK AT NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Mar 83 pp 6, 7

[Report on speeches delivered by participants in the National Workers' Aktiv Conference, held on 30 March in Warsaw, by Polish Press Agency]

[Text]

Ireneusz Wapner, Pressman of Cegielski Metal Works, Poznan, Trade Union Activist, Unaffiliated:

Discussing the experiences of the working class, the speaker noted that the workers the Cegielski Metal Works never tried to avoid reliable work. "We are fully aware," he said, "that nobody else will repair our home for us. We are a class of people aware of both our potential and our duty to ourselves and the nation."

Talking about the requirements to be fulfilled for this work to bring fruit, I. Wapner mentioned: creation of proper conditions of work and good organization; respect and care for manufactured goods to ensure that no products are wasted, even those that are worth pennies; treating workers and the older generation with justice and respect which they deserve for their current and past work; seeing to it constantly that no one in this country comes ahead by deceit or fraud at the expense of society. "We also expect," said the speaker, "real implementation of the principles set forth by the premier, namely, that law is binding for all without exception, with the sole reservation that the higher the position the stricter the observance of the law, since the potential damage is also greater."

"We will have to work to rebuild our house. This must be done with dedication and often with some sacrifice, but everybody should participate without exception. There are too many people still doubting the possibility of success, passive, expectant, observing our work from the sidelines."

Noting the interest in the government program for the three-year plan of rehabilitation of the Polish economy, I. Wapner stressed that it both arouses hopes and causes apprehension. The hopes are based on the promise



of putting an end to the decline of the living standards of the broad masses of our people; the fears, however, come from the fact that we still see signs of decay in the work of many levels of government and economic administration, incapacity and neglect of one's duty.

"I fully agree with the principle," asserted the speaker, "that the basic precondition to coming out of the crisis is more effective and successful work of all Poles, better methods of management at every level, resolute and more effective eradication of all signs of social pathology. Such are the chances for our economy to emerge from the crisis.

"As workers, we will support by our own labor each move on the part of the government that meets the interests of the working people and corresponds to the expectations of the working class. The workers of Cegielski Works and residents of Poznan have demonstrated their capacity to work well on many occasions. If we are not let down, we can be relied upon."

Daniela Banachowicz, Team Supervisor, Iwona Knitwear Plant, Lodz, Member of the Plant's Trade Union Founding Committee, Member of the PZPR:

"There can be no doubt that the entire society must accept the common responsibility for common development. The feasibility of the government plans can only be proven by consistent, businesslike actions and evident, tangible results. One should think about the causes of disillusionment and hopelessness and draw adequate conclusions. Where does it stem from? How many plans, programs and instructions have never been carried through? Could it be that the deluge of instructions hides incapacity, ill will and sometimes probably purposeful activity of those who could do but 'cannot help'? Can one really not deal with this 'incapacity'?"

"More important than money is the mentality developing in children and young adults. Crooks and profiteers become models for emulation, as they can get everything fast. The young minds have been contaminated with a dangerous germ. We must deal with it right away, before it is too late.

"People want to work well and effectively, want to be thrifty--as in their own homes, for this is how they understand their contribution to restoring equilibrium and fighting inflation. But they expect, on the other hand, that the anti-inflation program and the burden of the crisis will be borne fairly by everybody--in proportion to the incomes of different social groups, that it will not fall completely on workers' shoulders. Much is yet to be done at factories. In the current situation, even a minute savings have double value. Efficient results should be propagated to all enterprises. It is a wide field, and one example is the spread of innovative proposals and inventions tested by practice. Let us help each other in the present situation. It is wrong to keep secrets to one's own enterprise.

"Ours is a state where the power belongs to the working class, and yet this is the class that is hit the hardest. It is high time for this

situation to change. Working people are aware of their duties, but they are also aware of their value and want to be appreciated. They have to have a real say in the government and the conviction that the government leans on this principal class and services its needs. Workers expect this; then every program should be reliable and will find support." The speaker thanked authorities on behalf of all other Lodz women for the decision to build in their city the Polish Mothers Memorial Hospital.

Zygmunt Jasinski, Miner of Hard Coal Mine Named after the 30th Anniversary of the Polish National Council, at Jastrzeb-Zdroj, Katowice Province, PZPR Member:

The speaker began by describing the factors affecting the production results in mines. He noted that an important condition to proper mining operation is supply of sufficient amounts of machinery and equipment and a high quality of materials. Miners are positive about the new Polish-made support structures. The ministry has made major progress in the supply of equipment necessary for advancement of mine workings. Yet, much is to be desired as regards mechanization in passing through rock beds. During the past year, a continuous campaign was unfurled in the mines to recover materials, rebuild and reuse support structures, pipes, tracks, cables, etc. This has greatly reduced basic material costs.

Emphasizing that the crucial factor in the productivity of a mine is the output, the speaker pointed out large reserves hidden in both large-scale and small-scale productive innovation. Unfortunately, suggestions and innovations proposed by miners are not always reviewed and introduced rapidly enough. Large reserves are also to be found in improving the quality of cast products, particularly support structures. In view of the current economic situation in the country, Jastrzeb Enterprises have taken import-reducing steps. The amount of output in this area will attain some 18 million zlotys this year. Miners are particularly concerned with saving energy and fuel. It hurts to know that coal extracted with such heavy effort and in so difficult conditions comes to waste, whether it is burned in inappropriate, obsolete power plants, or warehoused and transported sloppily.

The economic effect for the past year could have been better were it not for the continual growth of material and equipment costs of items mines have to purchase for contract prices set by suppliers. The cost is also affected by the fact that, along with hard coal, as much as 50 percent or more of total weight brought to the day surface is rock. This leads to overloading of hoisting equipment and processing plants. It is imperative to arrange for utilizing rocks extracted with this enormous effort in housing rock construction, as well as for gob filling. A drastic solution would have been found if scientists developed a method for underground separation from rocks. A major cost reduction potential at PRL's 30th Anniversary Mine lies with reducing workers'

transportation expenses. In this connection, the speaker requested support and assistance with housing construction for workers.

Andrzej Dudewicz, Metal Fitter, Ursus Mechanical Works, Warsaw,  
Trade Union Chairman, PZPR Member:

The speaker stressed that even under difficult economic conditions it is possible to work with greater efficiency and productivity, as was demonstrated in the past year by the tractor factories. The primary task facing Ursus now is to complete the construction and start production of tractors in new workshops. As a representative of the trade union, he confirmed that recent actions to this effect at the factory and at the respective administrative levels were in harmony with workers' expectations. All that remains is to ensure their timely and consistent completion.

Developing the Ursus factory is important not only to workers, but for producing food for the entire nation. "We cannot allow," noted the speaker, "farm equipment to stand idle. Therefore, even in the current year we envisage producing 10,000 Perkins engines for tractors in the new workshops of our factory. Life at Ursus is not quiet and easy. There are lots of problems and difficulties, many of which we cannot handle on our own. On all these issues, however, Ursus management has specific programs or concepts of solution."

Talking, among other things, about economy programs, the speaker stressed that after these measures are implemented an improvement of the nation's economy and thus of workers' lives will be attained. There will be tangible improvement in market supplies. This will confirm the plausibility and adequacy of guidelines adopted by the government. Important in this, according to the speaker, is, however, fair distribution of the social costs of implementation of these programs. The workers who bear the brunt of difficulties in emerging from the crisis must be convinced that in a socialist state no one is getting rich at their expense.

Against this background, A. Dudewicz stressed the need for speedy completion of the work on defining the minimum living standard, which will put an end to subjective views as to the material status of a Polish family. This includes a fair tax policy embracing all social groups, eliminating chances for exorbitant personal gain unjustified by individual labor contribution.

An acute problem is ensuring basic living standards to lowest income families. It is said in the program that government is opposed to the method of attaining market balance by raising prices. The practice thus far, however, indicates that this is the commonly practiced method. It is thus necessary to develop and introduce effective mechanisms protecting the most needy. We expect the government to be consistent and not to back out of decisions contained in the adopted programs. "I want

to emphasize this," said the speaker, "as there has been and still are instances of lack of consistency, especially in implementation of the decisions of the central government by local authorities."

Karol Mydlarz, Oswiecim Chemical Plant, Secretary of Plant Trade Union Founding Organization, Unaffiliated:

"We all know, if we want to live better and earn better, we must produce more, save materials and energy, attain higher productivity and manufacture higher quality goods. Although we all have our own budgets for our activities, we proceed from the principle that interests of our factories should always be tied in with the interests of the state. This is how we understand implementation of the economic reform."

The speaker described some aspects of implementation of the reform at the Oswiecim Works. In the past year, the enterprise showed a good profit and exceeded its plan for exports. Labor productivity has risen, and wages have been raised, although up to the level which would not require payments into the Vocational Activization Fund. For the current year, it is planned to increase the output by some 2 billion zlotys and currently, under the savings and anti-inflationary program, further increase of output by 1.5 billion zlotys, and a reduction of costs by more than 200 million zlotys are planned, while the number of employees will be smaller than in the past year.

The speaker cited positive opinion of the commission that inspected the implementation of reform at his enterprise. He pointed out, however, that a majority of factories in the area have unfortunately decided that it pays better to pursue different approaches and attain profits which--despite the payments into the Vocational Activization Fund--result in better wages. Since Oswiecim Works does not follow this policy, it has found itself low in the "wages list," even though work in the chemical industry is hazardous and difficult. As a result, the number of employees has been dwindling. Those leaving include the youngest workers, and the most skilled ones.

The speaker also stressed the need for changing housing legislation in such a way that it would strengthen the ties between the workers and the enterprise when they receive housing from factory funds. A similar principle should apply to vocational education of persons acquiring skills at factory schools and then leaving for other factories. The speaker believes that efforts should be made that would cause such people to stay with the factory.

He was critical about certain decisions adopted--without previous consultation--relating to the factory's activities. One instance was the statute of legal advisors and regulations specifying performance status.



He also indicated problems in activities of trade unions. In his opinion, a major shortcoming is the failure of the government administration to consult completely (for instance, on decisions of raising prices and in other matters affecting the vital interests of the workers). He said that it is necessary to speed up creation of trade union structures above the enterprise level.

Stanislaw Bozecki, Foreman, Lenin Metal Works in Krakow,  
Workers' Self-Government Activist, PZPR Member:

The speaker noted that the plan of his plant for 1983 envisages further growth of steel output by some 400,000 tons. The workers of the plant, however, aspire to attain a growth 650,000 tons. Thus far, the assignments for this year have been implemented efficiently. An obstacle to productivity growth is labor shortage in the production areas. Members of the team, however, see the possibility of resolving this problem through more flexible housing policies, and they propose a return to the principles of distribution of apartments that were binding before 1981.

Also important at the metal works is reconstruction and modernization of productive capacities. The technical condition of a great number of equipment units jeopardizes the production targets. Most urgent is modernization of the bank of coke ovens and hot sheet rolling mills. This is essential both for output and environmental protection.

In reference to economic reform, the speaker pointed that it is predicated on the operation of workers' self-government. Steps have been taken towards election of its organs. The idea of self-government is supported by a majority of the workers. The principle that increase in wages should be linked to productivity is consistent with systematic discipline rules introduced everywhere in 1983. This direction of the reform made it possible at the plant to carry out on a large scale the government anti-inflation and savings program. Fulfillment of this program will be a major contribution of the plant to efforts to overcome the crisis and return balance to the national economy. The speaker highlighted the activities of sociopolitical organizations at the plant to motivate workers towards difficult economic tasks. The trade union at the plant numbers nearly 5,000 members and regularly advances and develops. The trade union represents the feelings and opinions of the workers, who are critical of certain social facts, such as reduction of disability benefits for the first three days of medical leave of absence, persecutorial and judiciary leniency towards so-called marginal elements of society and lack of broader consultations regarding the raising of prices. Provisional Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] is active at the plant, mostly initiated by the youth organization. It has been putting forward suggestions on difficult economic and public matters of importance to the plant's workers.

Jerzy Zalecki, Production Foreman, Jelcz Motor Factory,  
Wroclaw Province, PZPR Member:

"Despite gigantic difficulties in supplies in the past year, the factory has fulfilled its assignment, attained a productivity growth, a reduction in the costs of production and, what is more important, in costs of material by some 500 million zlotys. It was made possible by the right attitude among the workers and proper atmosphere at the factory. Assignments for the first quarter of the current year will also be fulfilled. The workers at the factory realize that this is not going to be an easy year. Yet, they have decided to try to attain a productivity growth of 75 percent, particularly through higher labor productivity, a large reduction in nonproductive employment and transferring people in non-productive positions to production, as well as by further cuts in unjustified costs and lowering of labor intensity and material costs. The primary targets for savings in materials, fuel and energy will be revised and updated in accordance with the government savings program. These actions meet the best interests of the workers. Specific decisions have been made for the savings program in 1983-85 for the factory, its individual departments and production segments.

The factory faces great difficulties in material supplies from cooperatives. Deliveries are irregular and indeterminate, often of poor quality. For savings, better supplies are necessary. Without this, standstills and financial losses and worker discontent are unavoidable.

Any further tangible growth of quality, service life and operation reliability of buses and trucks will depend on the quality of engines, transmissions, valves, brakes and electric systems. A better quality of these assemblies is in the best interests of everybody, not only the Jelcz factory.

Activities by the factory have helped to curtail imports substantially. In 1975-80 foreign currency expenditures have been reduced from some \$19,000 per bus to \$3,160. Last year the number was as low as \$1,898. Steps have been taken that will further pare it down to \$1,300 by the year's end.

For plans to be realistic, stabilization in some mechanisms of the economic reform is necessary; in particular, enterprises in the process of fulfilling their plans should not be hit by unprotected taxes or price changes. One should assess positively the government proposal to freeze contract prices for supply articles from May till the year's end.

Waldemar Kupis, Radoskor Leather Factory, Radom, Trade Union  
and PRON Activist, PZPR Member:

The speaker discussed actions towards maximum utilization of raw materials, chemicals and recycled waste. At a small expense, the

leather factory has set up a fodder and fat department where, from meat remains leather pieces and grease (which previously were dumped) fat and feed powder are now produced. This eliminates some \$2.2 million annual spending for tallow purchases. In addition, remains of tan treated skins are now utilized for by-products such as elements of protective mittens. "We have developed the technique ourselves," said the speaker, "and found the consumers. As a result, last year more than 181,000 pairs of such mittens were produced. New ideas and initiatives are emerging at the factory."

The factory encounters difficulty in maintaining its stock of machinery in good repair, as it is to a large extent amortized. Elements that wear out are unavailable on the domestic market--these are all kinds of supports, bodies, pistons and shafts. Efforts to buy new machines or basic working assemblies have been unsuccessful so far. There are raw materials and other elements necessary for work, while there is a big demand for footwear on the market. "It is high time," said W. Kupis, "that the ministry made sure to produce spare components for the entire leather industry. Too much of them are now produced at individual factories. Each factory has now to fill its own needs, that is, to find the forms, materials and contract a producer. This way of solving problems should no longer be tolerated in this country."

On the subject of wages, W. Kupis noted that at Radoskor Factory modifications are being introduced into the system of wages for its linking with production effects. This involves straightening out the payments to auxiliary workers whose wages are much below the average at the factory. This is one of the reasons why the factory experiences a shortage of turners, milling machine operators, metal fitters and electricians.

"Together with our unaffiliated colleagues," confirmed the speaker, "we are all involved in developing the workers' self-government. This was hard work; many things are unclear and controversial. We have, however, attained success, because we ourselves developed the outline and structure of self-government in accordance with the workers' expectations and the basic legal documents." Returning to the proposed programs, W. Kupis noted that anti-inflationary steps may have negative results for family budgets, especially in young families entering independent life. Through the savings program, however, the financial straits of these people could be partly outbalanced due to profits from saved supplies and materials. Both the factory and the workers should be, however, remunerated for this. Hence, the suggestion that emoluments for such savings should be tax free.

"The programs are difficult," added the speaker, "and sometimes painful. No one is expected to like them, but they must be understood and applied consistently."

Jerzy Szczepanski, Lathe Operator, Falubaz Cotton Factory,  
Zielon Gora, Activist of Socialist Union of Polish Youth  
[ZSMP], Unaffiliated:

"At our factory, we do not wait for Sejm decisions with folded arms; life has forced us to innovate: in 1982 we attained a productivity rise of nearly 25 percent, with appropriate growth of wages. The factory has taken steps for savings and better utilization of available machinery. In particular, incentives have been introduced to workers serving digitally controlled machines. The amount of bonuses has been closely linked to the achieved reduction of idle time for maintenance and repair. After the system was introduced, a steady decline of standstills of these machines has been noted.

"Shortages of materials call for a greater savings effort. An incentive system has been introduced in metal workshop which gives bonuses to workers who utilize waste materials. Efforts are made to reduce the weight of products and thus decrease the spending of materials, while retaining, of course, intact technological quality. Product designs are now reviewed in terms of greater efficiency. These efforts are expected to bring about 50 tons of steel and 40 tons of pig iron saved annually.

"I am fully aware that factories are now faced with even greater tasks in saving needed by the economy. From this conference, I will bring back to my factory recommendations to be used in developing our enterprise program.

"I cannot finish," continued the speaker, "without sharing my thoughts about the young people working at our factory. There are many of us. Every third worker has yet to reach his 30th year. It is untrue that my colleagues and myself are a lost generation, a generation without prospects. Although the current period is different from the successful atmosphere of the seventies, in many matters we can score achievements for ourselves. Despite numerous proposals by party organizations and the ZSMP directed to the young, we have failed so far to arouse much interest among young people. The previous resentment, however, has been dissipated, so that there is a certain reevaluation of positions taking place.

"I believe that time, good and productive work, and a favorable attitude on the part of the management of the factory where we spend many hours every day will gradually break the barriers and get involved in this work more and more young people from among my colleagues."

Marcin Witek, Senior Foreman, A. Warski Shipyard, Szczecin,  
PZPR Member:

The speaker recalled that recently General W. Jaruzelski, evaluating at Katowice Party Conference the activities of enterprises in the context



of the economic reform, mentioned Szczecin shipyard workers for achievement, for remarkable effects in production, for good work last year. Workers were very proud about this distinction.

The speaker then proceeded to share his thoughts about work and life of Szczecin shipyard workers in 1982. "After introduction of the martial law," he said, "workers went through a shock. In that period, we divided time not just in quarters, months or weeks, in which production assignments were fulfilled. These were also days of hard, bitter decisions.

"We met 1983," he continued, "unlike the previous years. We have developed a rhythmical base of work. There is, however, no lack of problems.

"Some enterprises tend to go away from cooperation with shipbuilding with its stringent quality requirements. We have also witnessed cases of breach of contract in supply of ships by foreign companies, which, sensing our temporary weaknesses, take advantage of our difficult situation for their own private interest. The lack of those willing to work in the hard trade of shipbuilding is also felt quite keenly."

The speaker acknowledged the need of everyday savings and businesslike attitudes at all levels, from designer to worker, and that it should be a factor in the system of emoluments. Against this background, he described the methods which, despite limitations, last year allowed shipyard workers to build more vessels at lower energy costs. Success in the program of savings largely depends on the cadre of skilled foremen, the immediate supervisors of production processes. The government will not build up the foreman's authority enabling him to implement the reform in the workshop. He must build it up himself with his group of workers, although authorities should support this.

The speaker noted that introduction of the savings program calls for adamant consistency on the part of the government and individual ministries. A key to this effort is enforced responsibility at every workplace that will be expressed in economic and production discipline, as well as in general. Self-government initiative, self-sufficiency are all right, but should serve the interests of society.

Boguchwal Czarnecki, Plant Operator, Petrochemia Refineries,  
Plock, Leader of Plant Trade Union Organization, Unaffiliated:

The speaker acknowledged that the anti-inflationary and savings programs contain a great number of adequate solutions. Particularly appropriate are decisions to increase production of goods for the markets by using idle capacities. It is also correct that attention is called to the need for utilizing secondary materials and waste. He noted that two modernizations to be introduced at refineries before 1985, mentioned in the savings program, will save more than 15,000 tons of

conventional fuel units. An in-depth analysis of production costs at the enterprise showed a possibility of cost reduction by more than 1 billion zlotys, compared to the original plan. More such achievements are possible.

Discussing issues that, according to the speaker, may cause reservations, he mentioned taxes. "Too easily," he said, "they go for the pockets of those whose incomes are recorded and controlled. That is, employees in the socialized sector. As far as other social groups are concerned, however, things go much slower. It is true that this year new tax rules will be introduced covering handicrafts, private trade, etc. Complete registration of incomes of these groups, however, will not be introduced before late 1984. On what basis will the taxes be assessed this year? Both underrating and overestimating can cause damage. I also doubt," said B. Czarnecki, "whether the suspension of the introduction of new principles of taxation of farmers in 1983, mainly in the form of basic tax, was justified."

B. Czarnecki also spoke about social services. In his opinion, the proposal to make people pay for food in sanitariums is frivolous. The savings that could be attained this way would be minor, but the decision of making this service payable would be perceived as retraction of social gains attained many years ago.

On the subject of excessive employment in administration, B. Czarnecki suggested that it could be controlled by, for instance, a reasonable preferential treatment of those working directly in production. He pointed out, however, that the proposal that labor departments should audit the employment levels at enterprises is incorrect. The principles of the economic reform require that excessive employment be eliminated by economic methods.

Kazimierz Drozdziel, Hull Specialist, Metal Fitter, Paris  
Commune Shipyard, Gdynia, PZPR Member:

"Few other enterprises feel the impact of Reagan's trade restrictions so badly as ours. Cooperation with Western shipbuilders becomes increasingly difficult, and there have even been cases of broken contracts, even after the ships had been built by us.

"It is true that the authorities have done almost everything in terms of giving guidelines of the reform and producing the related documents. But its implementation is too slow. Putting the entire blame for this on industry is wrong. There may be much truth in the saying, 'Minister proposes and executive opposes.' There is too much red tape activities of individual services and administrations, too much routine. We will support," emphasized the speaker, "a program that will ensure and make it binding that the cost of pulling our country out of the crisis will be distributed proportionally to the working contribution among all people and social groups. As workers, we must require of ourselves

diligence, work quality, and thrift at every step. Unfortunately, some still hold the misconceived notion of loyalty, covering up for friends and their negligence at work. Economic mechanisms should be created that would force everybody to act properly. This must also be paid for."

The speaker emphasized that authorities and control institutions should be relentless in sanctions at every level against overstepping of power, negligence, callousness and poor management of employees. "We expect and will support actions that will promptly do away with enrichment from workers' sweat, with crooks and parasites. One is angered," said the speaker, "to see the market prices that so often hide idleness, incapacity and plain deceit of the ordinary man."

At the end of his speech, he characterized the earlier actions in the shipyards for savings of materials and introduction of a new wage system. "The present meeting," underscored the speaker, "must instill in all workers trust and conviction that, although the road we have taken is hard, it is the right way leading to equitable, true socialism in Poland."

Alfred Janik, Smelter, Open-Heart Furnace, Bierut Metal Works, Czechochowa, PRON Activist, Unaffiliated:

"It is a long time since we have been talking about reduction of administration. We have reduced the number of ministries, liquidated associations, conducted personal reviews at enterprises. Some effects have been achieved, but in my opinion, and not only in mine, all this is too little. Administration is still overinflated, leading to bureaucracy and an avalanche of paperwork. If we want to emerge from the crisis, we must have more people engaged in direct production. For instance, at our metal works, of 12,500 employees, only 4,500 work in production itself. So if we wonder where we could get people to cover labor shortages in production at furnaces and in other enterprises, as well as in services, we must find them there--in administration."

The speaker then proceeded to discuss costs. "I will say outright," pointed out the speaker, "that within certain limits it is not worth it to reduce production costs, for all the gain is eaten up by taxes. Incentives or exemptions should be introduced that would make it more profitable to try to reduce costs for everybody,--from a worker to the director. At our metal works, last year we reduced costs by 15 percent --with little gain for the enterprise. Taxes should work against those who, without heed for costs, produce low quality products. This means waste of material and man-hours. Enterprises should be penalized for such activities. The same applies to the case when, raising prices, they do not manufacture articles of a better quality."

"Another problem connected with costs is notable. We hear that some factories are unprofitable. We think that subsidies for such enterprises should be withheld, and supply prices should be put in order; only commodities that are indispensable, especially in the market, could be subsidized."

That would certainly be better for the economy.

"The reform was supposed to link wages more closely with work. This connection, however, is too weak. If we want to earn more and to produce more, we must link wages and productivity more specifically and consistently. The wage system should also be simplified so that it will be clear to everybody what they are paid for, and that it would be clearly defined that they are not paid simply for being at the factory.

"Another current issue is equalizing wages in different economic sectors. In Czestochow it is raised quite often because of the great number of private and agency enterprises. Promises to exact heavier taxes from the sector have been received with satisfaction.

"Another issue we as metalworkers feel particularly strongly about is the sale of factory products to employees. We are against such practices. In a situation of shortages of goods, they should be divided justly. There should be no privileged groups."

Tadeusz Kurnatowski, Railroad Worker, Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Plant, Bydgoszcz, Chairman of Plant Trade Union Organization, PZPR Member:

The speaker noted that his enterprise has been successfully fulfilling the socioeconomic tasks. The trade union organization now encompasses nearly 25 percent of employees and is growing every day.

Talking about the principles of the economic reform, he noted that positive effects have been achieved through early preparation and discussions at open party meetings of the proposed changes in the operation of the economy. Aware of the current needs, the workers of Bydgoszcz Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Plants have been working throughout last year on free Saturdays, repairing more than 200 additional coal cars. "This is how we understand the economic reform," stressed the speaker, "and this is how we want to implement it. Complaints won't bring us anything. The cost of the entire reform will be borne by workers; one cannot get around or run away from this truth. In view of this, acting through their representatives, the party, trade union, citizens committees, youth organizations and workers clubs have attained, among other things, a reduction of more than 90 white collar jobs.

"It is difficult for us to evaluate whether the enterprise is working correctly or not. With the abundance of legal acts, which are changing continually to ensure proper functioning of the reform, it is practically impossible for a worker to keep abreast of them all. I suggested therefore," said T. Kurnatowski, "that a document be produced that would help an ordinary worker by inserting the proper data to develop an individual opinion to assess his enterprise, its weak points and reserves. Reform should be explained in simple language understandable to everybody, not only to specialists."



In reference to the activities of the trade union organization at the plants, the speaker pointed out that the interests of all trade union members employed at Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Plants could be better and more effectively represented at the transportation ministry by a group of representatives of all trade union organizations than by individual trade unions from 22 enterprises. "Why should everybody have to go to Warsaw if our problems can be resolved efficiently by elected representatives who have previously determined a package of common issues to be resolved? After all, we all work in the same industry, and the same problems and difficulties concern all. New solutions are required also because it is hard to consult on drafts of basic legal acts concerning labor separately with all individual trade union organizations." In this context, the speaker signaled delays in development of draft statute of the enterprises for Polish state railroads and employment policies of railroad workers.

Jan Zaranski, Miner, Nowa Ruda Hard Coal Mines, Walbrzysk Province, PZPR Member:

The speaker noted that management with a vision, vigorous efforts by party organization of the mines, involvement of ZSMP members are the strong points and factors conducive to the healthy situation at his mine. He described the successes of the miners' team, which has lowest mining cost in Lower Silesia, where labor contests have been conducted among the young workers without interruption, and now are being extended to all sections of the mine. "It is time to return," said the speaker, "to socialist labor competition that was so common many years ago. The name of Wincenty Pstrowski has been written into the history of People's Poland. Why should we be ashamed of what is really a cause of pride?

"We have forgotten about public activities. The thing is to prepare actions rather than fan up propaganda. People must be aware that what they do is needed by the community.

"At Nowa Ruda mines, the trade union organization council has 2,000 members, that is, 40 percent of the total number of employees. The youth organization has joined the effort to develop trade unions. The regular growth in the number of trade union members has been the result of active efforts by party and youth organizations during the time when trade unions were suspended under the martial law. It is time to realize that a worker of socialist trade unions is a worker supporting the socialist system.

"Processes and developments in our miners' community are controlled and inspired by party and youth organizations at the mine and by the trade union. They should be strengthened and substantiated by internal force and creation. Understanding among people, which affects the morale whatever the political views and ideological differences, was achieved the earliest in youth teams."

On the issue of difficult economic situation, the speaker noted that all are not experiencing a shortage of raw materials or production capacity. "I believe that every enterprise in Poland," he said, "should undertake to work on Saturdays, at least for the period of the crisis. True, this is one of the gains of the working class, but we must be able sometimes to give up this gain, at least for one, two or three years, to fill the market with the necessities. One has a right to complain only after doing everything that is possible. Too often in analyzing the situation we succumb under current hardships. Our judgments and appraisals lack a grain of optimism. Without a trust in success for our work, we cannot build a vision of a better Poland. We underestimate ourselves, our power and leadership potential. This makes the way out of the crisis much longer."

Krystyna Arkuszynska, Machine Operator, Chemitex-Wiston  
Synthetic Fiber Plant, Tomaszow, Piotrkowski Province,  
Unaffiliated:

"It is unworthy of us working people to wring hands in face of the difficulties in which our state and nation have been plunged. Employees of Wiston are grasping this truth more and more. We hope that this year our output will attain the level of best years, even though our number is by almost 10 percent smaller. Women's departments have undertaken major commitments. We want to produce 200 tons more Anitex fiber than last year. We do not agree to raising prices. We realize that everybody will win, even though we are doing that on our own time, which we could have given to our families.

"We reckon that, even if we are not paid for today's work rightaway, we won't have to wait long. Half a year from now, we are going to change the emolument system. It is far from perfect, but reflects much better diligence, quality and thrift. Its principle requires clarity in evaluation of work and wages. We have set up workers' commissions of several members to participate in the evaluation of labor and appropriation of incentive funds. As a result, ever more people realize that only through work they can improve their incomes.

"In this connection, we are worried about the proposal to expand the equalizing tax. Planning our expenses, we take into consideration what we earn on free Saturdays. The tax could spoil our estimates.

"We are concerned about the technical state of our factory. It is more than 70 years old. Only technical progress can raise productivity. Funds for that should be more easily available to older enterprises. We know that no one is going to give us money from Warsaw. But maybe without damage to the state it could take away less. We would not waste this money, and they would not have to wait long for the effects.

"Many are still unprepared for the solutions of current problems. For this reason, it is often difficult to understand all actions taken by

the party and the government, and there is much to be understood and learned, at least to be able not to wait for orders and recommendations where common sense is the best advisor.

"I am glad that workers' voices are now welcome, that before taking a decision you also ask for our opinion. We see that you want to distribute fairly the burden that has fallen upon us. It is good that you want to make life a little more difficult for those who have had it easy until now. Maybe then they would have fewer imitators."

Jozef Hertel, Foreman of Metal Fitters, Swierczewski Metal Works, Zawadzki, Opole Province, PZPR Member:

"Considering the need to limit the growth of wages," said the speaker, "I believe that we should introduce systems that would pay for good and productive work. The government should set taxes so that those who are the most wealthy would pay the highest price for emergence from the crisis. The fight should continue against those who accumulate wealth in dishonest ways.

"Looking at the anti-inflationary and savings program, there is hope that shelves will be filled, that escalation of prices will stop, although consequences of the crisis will be felt for many years ahead."

In regard to the application of these programs to his enterprise, the speaker reported that last year production costs were reduced to attain a savings of over 50 million zlotys. This includes reduction of electric energy and gas consumption and curtailed numbers of rejects. Their number would be even further reduced if suppliers delivered materials in a more finished form, because almost 5,000 tons of products were rejected due to suppliers' faults.

The savings program rightly calls for utilization of waste and rejects. Enterprises cannot resolve this problem by themselves. This calls for participation of research and development institutes. The metal works have difficulty in eliminating slurry after etching--over 20 tons daily, according to preliminary estimates of scientists from Silesian Polytechnic, as well as the opinion of metalworkers themselves. The slurry could be utilized to produce construction materials. Preliminary estimates, however, are not enough. So far no decision has been made, and the slurry still goes to the waste dump.

Goals set in this program will require much labor on the part of the workers, and sometimes considerable spending. The enterprise should be entitled to participate in the effects due to reduction of production costs, to be able to channel this income into development and modernization. This will guarantee interest in further technical and economic progress; workers are particularly concerned about the aging of the machine stock due to the lack of modernization funds. "I believe that the programs supplemented by solutions proposed in discussions will raise

the interest of enterprises in fighting the crisis and taking steps to prevent excessive aging of productive capacities."

Gustaw Magdziak, First Secretary of the Local PZPR  
Organization, Igloopol Farm Industry Combined Works,  
Debice, Tarnow Province:

The basic problem today, according to the speaker, is bringing the government programs to the attention of each enterprise and each worker; and the adaptation of the general national tasks to local conditions and potentials. It is good that the program is discussed with this audience, gathering members of different generations. We must now think together about ways of pulling the nation out of the crisis, convinced that we can achieve this, since our people have shown many times throughout their history that they can endure hardships, labor and sacrifice.

With respect to assignments dictated by the need of providing food to the population, the speaker characterized activities at his enterprise. He mentioned that starting from 1979, in anticipation of raw material shortages, the enterprise managed to take over lapsing farms, manage them and subsequently process the raw materials produced. This year the Combined Works plans to deliver to the market some 90,000 tons of food. The enterprise is resolving by its own forces the problem of shortage of farm tools and machines, and not only for its own needs.

The organization does not belong to the group of enterprises which increase inflation. The average wage grew by 25 percent, but the productivity in the meantime rose 32 percent. According to the speaker, positive aspects of the economic difficulties, particularly due to trade restrictions, should not be overlooked. They stimulate activity, innovation, thrift, larger utilization of available capacities.

The fact that workers now support the government program creates a different situation from what took place in the early 1980's, when fake politicians would gather together at the enterprise and discuss what should be done to disrupt work.

The atmosphere is totally different now. We see that the programs address primarily the interests of people and the country. For this reason, we support resolute actions by the government--consistent implementation of the program--which should not be sluggish, but provide chances for rapid emergence from the crisis.

Waclaw Malecki, Electronic Technician, Agromet Farm Machinery  
Plant, Lublin, Member of Voivodship People's Council, PZPR  
Member:

"An individual enterprise is a real replica of the economic, social and political situation in the country. We observe a disconcerting phenomenon when the party recommendations come in conflict with the



executive economic actions. Our enterprise, which works well, for instance, has been treated on a par with those which have fulfilled their assignments last year to a mere 90 percent. The correction in the principles of reform with this interpretation, which is appropriate in most cases, here strikes against our workers. This is a result of disproportion in wages. We must work to achieve fairness of wages throughout the socialized sector of industry.

"Our workers believe that the most important point of the anti-inflationary program is complete documentation of incomes to identify those with excessive amounts of money. In our opinion, its introduction has been scheduled for a too remote time.

"Administration still costs too much. This has its own internal reasons, partly duplicate statistics. But also excessive numbers of all kinds of controls contribute to this. The proposal to raise the housing contribution to 15 percent of costs raises serious reservations. The younger generation under the current conditions cannot afford this quota. What is possible and should be done is to reduce the cost of housing construction.

"We support the proposal to verify or suspend privileges granted by industry cards for a period of at least three years.

"Serious doubt causes the so-called excise tax on luxury goods. We can speak about this only after we have a precise definition of the standard basket.

"If this is conceived as a one-time levy, I would think that it is wrong to collect it for the eventuality of a failure of other measures.

"In the savings programs, one should create proper motivations. Basic to each program are time and effect and they will be feasible if the working class supports them by action and not just declarations. It will support them only if the programs will define fairly the tasks of everyone and distribute equitably the difficulties of the crisis. All are not governed today by the common public interest. The government must be consistent in implementing the assignments and issuing clear executive decisions.

"We are confronted with a tremendous all-national effort. It will bear fruit if we all get down to work together, stop being guided by local interests and drop fruitless discussions. Some individuals justify their notorious laziness by an ideology of 'internal exile.' One wonders if they will keep that stand when we arrive at dividing the results of our hard work."

Jerzy Nowak, Foreman of Mechanics, Winiary Food Concentrate Plant, Kalisz, Trade Union Activist, Unaffiliated:

"The economic reform made it possible for us to increase production, to expand product variety, introduce incentives for raising productivity. We believe that larger enterprises can be self-sufficient, although they meet with major difficulties in supplies of raw materials, particularly those that come from imports. This prevents complete utilization of productive capacity and is an obstacle to maintaining quality and aesthetic standards of products.

"We understand, however, that we must be competitive. Thus far, we have lowered prices for 26 articles. The population will pay for them some 400 million zlotys less. We are for maintaining stable prices. This is not always possible because of price raises by our cooperators several times during the year.

"Entering the savings program, we will continue to lower the production costs. For instance, commissioning of a new vegetable drying plant will lower the costs by 100 to 120 million zlotys annually. The drier will cost us some 300,000--1 million zlotys. We are building it on credit, which will be paid largely from a portion of profits distribution funds. This is an example of nonconsumptive utilization. Another example is introducing polyethylene sealing that will lower costs by some 10 million zlotys annually.

"We think that the financial result should again play the primary role in evaluating the activities of an enterprise. The regulation that gives exemptions for assignments to the Vocational Activization Fund for individual products involves an excessive preferential margin for certain industries and enterprises. The same refers to subsidies which should be unified for all enterprises. This system is the only one possible for ensuring lower costs and prices.

"We believe that the basic mechanisms of the reform should remain binding for at least two or three years, rather than be changed every year, or even more frequently."

Alicja Sala, Supervisor, Wolczanka ~~Kiele~~ Clothes Factory,  
Ostro Swietokr Unaffiliated:

"We all believe that the basic condition for an end to the crisis and filling stores with goods will be increased production of goods for the market." The speaker described thrifty use of materials at her enterprise, where the remains are used to make blouses, shirts and standard children's clothes and cloth trimmings are shipped for recycling as secondary material. In the production of these badly needed articles, one could make a wider use of the cottage industry, seeking out skillful workers during maternity leaves or those already retired. This project has already been approved.

"Each of us," said A. Sala, "tried to produce more, knowing that for better and more productive work, for savings of materials, for labor

discipline, she will receive better payment than for simply coming to work and putting in her eight hours.

"The anti-inflationary program, we believe, is necessary and purposeful. We all wish to see an end to the mad race of prices and wages, so that coming to the store we would know what costs what and be able to organize our family budgets.

"We think it is fair that the heaviest burden of 'belt-tightening' be placed on those with the highest incomes. It is unacceptable and most annoying to us workers that in Poland there are people who can afford a villa, a luxury car, frequent foreign trips and do this with complete cool, quite easily. It is high time to make taxes on crafts real, separating real craftsmen, who toil to make ends meet, from true financial sharks, making money on people's gullibility, often without much effort. It is good that distinction is now beginning to be made between farmers and 'kitchen gardeners' to make it worth it for everyone to sow wheat. Then we would have enough bread.

"We have no objections to taxing garden parcels at summer houses, motor cars and so forth. These are luxuries. However, the proposal for financing housing construction is exaggerated; 15 percent of costs per unit in an apartment house is a quota of some 150,000 zlotys for an average apartment. Is now an apartment a luxury--particularly for young families supporting themselves? I do not think that color television is a luxury, and other women at my factory share this opinion. The issue of payments for sanitarium should be revised. This doesn't seem to be a happy idea, especially as regards workers with occupational diseases directed to the sanitarium from their place of work."

Jan Bastek, Mechanic, Stomil Olsztyn Tire Plants, Olsztyn,  
Chairman of the Plant Trade Union, Unaffiliated:

The speaker presented a detailed analysis of the economic and organizational conditions for productivity increase at Stomil Olsztyn Tire Plants. Among other things, he put forward the proposal for modifying the system of providing enterprises with foreign currency quotas to ensure a more exact allocation and better utilization of foreign exchange.

His assessment of the provisions for the obligatory mediation in circulation of raw materials was negative. He noted that the reasoning for a centralized decision to change the binding wages and tariffs, which, in addition to priorities for enterprises are of importance for the national economy, should also take into consideration the situation on the local labor markets. Government decisions are needed that would favor interest in thrifty management at an enterprise. He also cited examples of inefficient use of imported materials in the economy, which, too, should be discussed at the central level.

For a greater use of productive capacities of the Stomil plant, more materials and manpower are necessary. Although 96 percent of output is covered by government contracts, they do not guarantee rhythmic supplies, while private sources of payments are sometimes improperly utilized--from the point of view of the plant's needs.

In regard to labor shortages, J. Bastek noted that even highest wages will not guarantee sufficient influx of workers. Another stimulus is needed--a prospect for receiving an apartment. The obligatory system of housing construction financing from a plant's housing fund and profits makes complete meeting of the demand impossible. The prevailing conviction at the enterprise is that for branches of the economy that have particular importance, a system of exemptions in income taxes should be created to promote housing construction, or permission to finance such construction from the development fund. "When I learned that I was going to take part in this conference," said J. Bastek, "I tried on every occasion to initiate a discussion of the savings and anti-inflationary programs. The characteristic attitude was wary acceptance of the guidelines accompanied by strong doubts that they would be implemented. People doubted that we will be able to be consistent, that we will be able to make sacrifices for the common good or that the mechanisms of the reform will be maintained."

Jozef Szczepaniak, Shift Foreman, Lubin Mines,  
Legnica Province, PZPR Member:

"At our enterprise, we have become acquainted with the savings and anti-inflationary programs. These are good documents, which indicate the basic goals, forms and methods which, if implemented, will have a major influence on the rate of overcoming the crisis. My colleagues and I, however, fear that these programs will inherit the fate of many others that were approved but never brought into effect. What we need in implementation of programs is consistency, both in local organizations and on the central level.

"The savings program gives attention to secondary materials, but in reality they stopped receiving waste paper and bottles at purchasing points, saying that they don't know what to do with it. Or maybe the reason is that there are different attitudes to work and that not everybody understands the interests of the state, and therefore ours, in the same fashion. We miners spare no efforts, and even on free Saturdays come to produce copper, this vital source of foreign currency for the nation.

"Although Lubin mines have steady output at the level of production capacities, we are looking for potentials of improving economic effects. One source that we see is improved prospecting of silver, which is an important component in the output of the copper ore basin. As to savings, this has always been an important priority with us. Our plant this year provides for a mobilizing program of economy mainly in the utilization of



energy and material costs. In improving the energy management, we plan to decrease energy consumption in 1983 by 21 million zlotys. The program for lowering material intensity encompasses a broad spectrum of steps involving regeneration of many units. We have been lowering the rate of consumption of power oil by shortening the ore transportation routes in sections and better observance of norms. We have already obtained the early effects of these steps and expect to save this year 65 tons of power oil.

"We workers are greatly concerned over the multitude of facts of poor management. The fight against unjustified costs should be conducted with persistence by all available means. For it is we who are the first to bear the consequences. Organizations such as our mine, that are working at full capacity, can make progress only through increased savings. This is the only correct way. Raising prices and costs is also a way, but it is away, which, if anywhere, leads to greater inflation.

"I want to emphasize that the demand for fair distribution of difficulties of the crisis and protection of society against inflation should be supported by the entire public as an extremely important issue. One should ponder, however, taxing bonuses. The stimulative function of emoluments should not be undermined."

Janusz Chelbus, Specialist, Rzeszow Furniture Factory,  
Sedziszow Plant, Unaffiliated:

"Production of furniture and related problems have a major social impact. This mostly comes from the continuing shortage of furniture on the market. The furniture industry, however, does not exist in a vacuum. Like in all other areas of the economy, all consequences of the crisis are felt here. As to the crisis itself, one should now speak about it as little as possible, but do as much as possible to overcome it.

"An important task of the economy is to reduce material costs. At our enterprise, we have a framework program of activities to save materials. It was feasible mainly because the enterprise enjoys complete self-sufficiency. We began the program by improving the warehousing and storage conditions of materials. This enabled us to save several hundred cubic meters of sawn lumber, the amount by which expenses have been reduced. Besides using machines and equipment developed and built by our own forces, we started production of various articles from waste products. Due to process, design and organizational changes, we have saved some 11 million zlotys.

"In regard to raising production efficiency, we are meeting with a lack of understanding. Some people still resent any major change and fail to see the connection between their own interests and those of the enterprise. Many do not understand that using the principle 'whether you are standing up or lying down' [i.e., you get your salary whether you work or not] means undermining our own foundations. The enterprise management reacts acutely and consistently, fights these phenomena. But then

there are legal regulations which protect the idlers, and one has often to tolerate a dishonest and lazy worker who takes advantage of the fact that he is the only breadwinner in the family or is protected by the misconceived solidarity of the team.

"The prevailing sentiments and the atmosphere at work are largely affected by growing costs of living, rising prices, uncertain prospects and a lack of broader consultations with workers on matters important to their life and work. In the long run, people are ready for certain sacrifices and increased work efforts, but they must be confident that no one will waste this effort anymore."

Stanisława Fatalaska, Warping Machine Operator, Technical  
Fabric Plant, Zyrardowo, PZPR Member:

The speaker reported on the new system of emoluments introduced at her enterprise in 1982. A hierarchy of professions has been introduced, and new rules have been adopted for assigning bonuses, enabling the growth of wages with decreasing of the number of employees. Work on official holidays is also now remunerated better.

"As a result of these actions, and also after allocating as much as 75 percent of profits to the fund for development and modernization of the weaving mill, a productivity growth last year was 18.1 percent, compared with 14.5 percent of wage increase. Modernization has resulted in an annual savings of more than 100 tons of raw materials. Despite earlier retirement age and the decrease of the number of employees by more than 25 percent, the plan last year was met at the same level as in 1981. This was assisted by changes in organizational work. Conditions conducive to proper employment structure and improvement of skills have been created. We are still wondering why it is that socialized sector has to pay for the crisis alone. Why not create conditions that would equally distribute the burden of the crisis among all social groups? The working class has contributed much to overcoming the crisis. Our enterprise remitted to the state treasury in the form of taxes, 92 percent of its profits, with 8 percent remaining for the factory; of this, 6 percent was allocated to development of the enterprise, and only 2 percent remained for the employees. We are not having an easy time during all this crisis, and we are unnerved by information on high payments in some workers' and farmers' cooperatives.

"Our life is still hard, and therefore we welcome all changes for the better--such as lifting of rationing of certain commodities and improved food supplies.

"The anti-inflationary project has evoked vivid interest, but at the same time a great deal of disquietude and controversy. We would like to see the principle of 'tight money' applied to all sectors of our economy proportionally."

Henryk Mrozek, Foreman, Lathe Operator, Ferrum Metal Works,  
Katowice, Unaffiliated:

"At our plant, everybody realizes that it takes long work to earn a good reputation and a short time to lose it. We are therefore working honestly, and the conditions of work are improving. Shortages of basic materials and energy are diminishing. In this situation, it is easier to implement the principles of the economic reform with increased influence of workers on what is happening at the plant. The reform reaches the workplaces mainly through the emolument system. We have been raising wages to the extent it is afforded by reasonable and responsible management. In spite of growing wages, the lives of families of metalworkers are becoming ever more difficult. As a result, we have problems with retaining recent employees.

"We are not jealous of miners' wages. We are aware of the importance and value of their work. How is it possible, however, that various cooperatives, small factories and private workshops pay several thousand more in wages for basically easier work? It seems that the principles of taxation no longer are under control. We cannot especially reconcile ourselves to enormous enrichment of crooks, profiteers and grafters. We have seen individuals become millionaires.

"We see and support efforts to do away with such injustices. These efforts so far have produced little. Some workers that quit the job after several days or several weeks seem to thrive. You can see such characters waving a pack of bank notes under the foreman's nose, claiming that this is their daily earnings in addition to the official pay. Some say that they would remain longer at the plant had they not to get up early and come to work every day.

"It seems to me that all plants should have fair and equal chances. Organizations which send their skilled personnel abroad are not helping us to overcome our manpower problems. It certainly pays for the worker to go, but is it good for the country? Would it not be better to export products? We, for instance, for 1 kg of rollers for rotary furnaces receive a higher price from experts than for 1 kg of a private car. It costs us little to produce this kilogram.

"Workers realize that what is needed today is good work and dedication. We must be resigned to shortages in order to stop inflation and come out of the crisis. We want to support the government programs by effective work. We want to work. But not everything can be achieved and resolved within a plant."

9922  
CSO: 2600/673

## RESULTS OF SURVEYS ON WORKER ATTITUDES EXAMINED

Warsaw PRAWO I ZYCIE in Polish No 14, 2 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by Leszek Gilejko and Przemyslaw Wojcik: "Do Workers Want Agreement?"]

[Text] There are at least four reasons which warrant stating that the realization of national agreement depends primarily on the attitude of the working class.

The first reason is the numerical strength of the working class and its ability, confirmed by the events of August, to fill a role that corrects the social process.

The second reason: the great participation of workers in the confrontation movement, and the associated participation in the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] "Solidarity." To be sure, this primarily concerned large-scale industrial communities, but their sociopolitical significance continues to be very important.

The next reason is the role of the working class in manufacturing processes, creating national income, and its role in emerging from the crisis, under circumstances, moreover when it will probably have to bear heavier costs for this emergence than other social groups. The crisis caused an additional sharpening of what has been an unresolved "labor problem" both in the area of satisfying worker needs, and in dangers in the work environment. These dangers were a very sharp problem in the work environment at the end of the last decade. It would be impossible to defend a position that an improvement has occurred here in recent years.

Finally, the fourth reason is the fact that without the active participation of the working class in creating agreement and social renewal, it is impossible to assure that process a socialist content. The party by itself, without a link with the working class and without its support for the party line, will not be in a position to accomplish that. Let us for a moment reach to theory and remind ourselves of Leninist principles. The party itself, without ties with the working class, will always succumb to the pressure of other groups, and in exercising authority will be creating political support for the executive apparatus which has a tendency to bureaucratic degenerations. This danger becomes real when there is a lack of working class activity.



Thus the current situation is really complicated and what is needed to bring about action to change should be an evaluation of worker attitudes including the factors that shape and condition those attitudes.

As a matter of fact, there is not one scientific center in Poland that could study the living and working conditions of the working class, and their aspirations and attitudes in a comprehensive, systematic and competent manner. There is not even any synchronization of studies by specialized centers, while those that are conducted evoke many doubts. The publications on these subjects that appear from time to time have an ideological, abstract, fragmentary or essayist character. Without delving deeper into the causes of this evident and long-term neglect, it is only worth calling attention to the fact that the worker problem was in this way turned over to the tenancy of oppositional and contesting circles.

Neither does the Institute of Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism (IPPM-L) fill the gaps referred to above. We have at our disposal only the opinions of manufacturing industry workers pertaining to studies of the situation in the union movement at the turn of May and June 1982, and the middle of September last year. The September studies were conducted in the same 45 plants (one in each province) as well as a continuing test by the Public Opinion Research Center (OBOP) at the request of the IPPM-L. We do not have the opinions of personnel in medium and small work plants, or those of suburban circles. Also, no studies were conducted that considered the influence of trade subsector differentiation on worker opinions. However, we are able to define the strength of prosocialist tendencies in the working class on the basis of the available data and--indirectly--the conditions which must be fulfilled, to have it become a participant and partner in a national agreement.

#### Worker Attitudes

The attitude toward social ownership of production means, observance of the principles of the Constitution, the building of socialism in Poland, recognition of the party's leading social role, and the assumption by trade unions of responsibility for leading the economy out of the crisis can be accepted as determinants of prosocialist orientation.

The studies indicate that the prosocialist orientation of the predominant majority of the working class is beyond discussion. The complexity and relatively weak base of political opposition workers is striking.

The problem of the party's regaining credibility in the working class continues to be a complex, unsolved problem. An interpretation has come into being that it is in the interest of workers to come to agreement with the existing authorities, and that illusions that the authorities can be changed bring more harm than good. Thus, conclusions should not be drawn from this that the authorities and the party have already regained the trust of the predominant portion of the working class, but it is a recognition of realities and an expression of a feeling of the reality of that class. Such an interpretation is also warranted by the fact that many respondents hold "Solidarity" responsible for the conflicts and tensions that led to the introduction of martial law.

Currently, four main types of attitudes prevail in the worker community.

The first of these is a positive attitude that affirms party actions aimed at leading the country out of the crisis and giving the government a vote of confidence.

The second is an attitude of resignation, that is, an expression of the acceptance of the role of a worker-executor, a hired hand, verging on the danger of apathy.

The next--a waiting attitude, resulting from the conviction that the various solutions currently being adopted have a transitory character, and that representative institutions of the working class will have real significance in the not too distant future. This pertains particularly to trade unions and to worker self-government.

Finally, the fourth attitude is an attitude of boycott and disapproval that negates the existing state of affairs, ready for confrontational actions if only a suitable occasion arises for that.

It is possible to state hypothetically that the second of the opinions named predominates among older workers employed in medium and small-sized establishments. This group constitutes the plant's component of the "silent" minority or majority, whose existence gladdens some and makes other very sad. For it could be said that states of apathy are no less dangerous than action which takes on an attitude of confrontation.

The third attitude appears most clearly among those in their forties, partly among younger and older generation groups, and also pertaining to the manufacturing industry worker community. It is encountered rather frequently in that community.

Mixtures of negation and contestation appear, primarily in the awareness of some young workers who react more emotionally to reality, who feel "drawn to order" and sometimes also have a different vision of social order that goes beyond the political boundaries of socialism. Although this group is not numerous it can, however, fulfill a certain role, particularly in the young generation of workers.

The studies on the relationship to trade unions which were conducted in the manufacturing industry worker environment and in key work plants confirm the foregoing comments and prove that the third group is fairly numerous. It was the group that asserted that if the so-called zero option were to be utilized, its relationship to the new unions would depend on what kind of unions they would be, what they will be concerned with and whether they will really be an organization that will be defending their occupational interests.

How large are the above groups and thus people who are open to compromise and agreement, people who now constitute the political base of the party and the government, as well as the uncompromising contestants? The role of a

test that makes orientation on these problems possible can be fulfilled by a question that illustrates the relationship to "Solidarity" of those studied. Along with emotional involvement by most of those studied, much criticism was voiced at the same time, and a readiness to draw conclusions from the mistakes made. What is more, a decisive majority of respondents was open to various arguments with respect to the merits of trade union activity.

#### What Kind of Subjectivity?

The existence of a group that is willing to talk and to conclude an agreement on new terms cannot, however, lead to a conclusion that a group that broke the principles of socialism would be ready to exceed the limits of worker solidarity.

In addition to other strongly internalized values in the awareness of the working class, such as social justice, democracy and work, a feeling of solidarity has rooted itself strongly in it. The August and post-August events have shown the true significance of that value. All in all, it would be difficult to recognize that value as too unimportant for shaping social awareness. If this problem were to be translated into political language, then it would have to be said that the most important matter is giving it its proper content and not its limitation.

We are not in possession of empirical material pertaining directly to the relationship of workers to the idea of a national agreement. The comments above also pertained indirectly to this problem. However, they do point out the barriers and chances and above all the conditions whose fulfillment can indeed have an influence on worker attitude toward a national agreement. The most important of these are respecting the subjective role of the working class and the restoration of partnership relationships with the working class. This principle of partnership relationships must, as we believe, pertain not only to government institutions but also to the party.

The slogan used in worker protest and confrontational activities relative to honoring the dignity of work and the dignity of the working man was an especially important matter, particularly during the first phase of the conflict. In a more general formulation, and in reference to a macroscale, that slogan could actually be understood as a move toward subjectivity and the fulfillment of a subjective role in society. After all, as is known, that role is recorded in socialist ideology and the normative picture of society based on the social ownership of the means of production.

In what way can that subjectivity be realized, and can action to satisfy that need become a component part of a program for national agreement?

It is possible to isolate three main areas of realization of the subjective role of the working class. The first is the area of sociopolitical institutions that would represent and realize worker interests. The second is an area of general principles according to which society and its development directions would function. Finally, the third area is the work community,

or more precisely, the work process itself. The latter is also an individual area and it refers to each worker, his relationships with his work-comrades, supervisors and the management.

In the first case, this concerns having an organization which could be treated as one's own, or at least functioning for the group's benefit. According to practical opinion, trade unions were supposed to have been such an organization in the work environment. The massive enrollment in "Solidarity" can be explained by this among others. Workers thought that "Solidarity" was to have been a union they themselves created, a union that was to remain under their direct control, effectively realizing their interests. There is no doubt that the need for having an organization that remains under direct control and that also has an influence on important problems in the work environment and on an overall social scale, continues to remain a need for the work community and perhaps will continue to be a particularly important need. Its satisfaction, and hence its shaping by the work community as credible trade unions, continues to remain very important and, as we see it, warrants an attitude by the working class toward the idea of a national understanding, and above all, the dissemination of a participatory attitude in the work community.

The second of these organizations is worker self-government. It is true that such massive activity did not develop around self-government as it did in the case of trade unions, but that is an understandable matter. For in a certain sense, both institutions remain in conflict with each other, something that perhaps results from dual status and the position of workers in the work environment. On the one hand they are joint owners and members of the ruling class, while on the other hand, they are workers subordinated to the rigors of a group work process and the demands resulting from the work agreement. The perception of trade unions as institutions that primarily represent worker interests, as institutions that are a "party" vis-a-vis the organs of government, could not--at least during the first phase of the syndicalist movement--simultaneously include strong support for self-government.

Worker self-government has always been perceived by workers as an institution that merges two functions in it: the democratic and the professional function that improves the operation of the enterprise and provides opportunities for all who are competent to influence the plant's work. An expression of this occurred not only in the case of worker councils after 1956, but also in the case of worker self-government in 1981, and the selection for self-government offices of a large number of professionals, engineers, economists, and highly-qualified workers. The workers have always considered that self-government is an essential element of the enterprise structure. This was also confirmed by various preliminary polls conducted in 1982. Thus, its true development constitutes a second condition for confirming the subjective role of the working class, and forming an attitude of participation.

Workers, united in trade unions, remaining under their direct control, and at the same time having a socialist orientation and the right to participate in the management of enterprises, would feel themselves to be in a true



partnership position vis-a-vis management. Organizing the working class also has real significance for relationships with the party. The problem of a subjective role for the working class also pertains to this relationship and, among others, is linked with counteraction against the danger of transforming trade unions into the well-known transmission belt. The experiences of the current crisis show that preservation of the principle of subjectivity in relationships between the party and the working class is a basic guarantee for the existence of links between them, and the operation of the party as a political organization of a definite class.

We called the third of the above-named working class subjective role achievement areas the area of general principles of coexistence and functioning of the main social institutions.

#### The Image of a Good Society

Studies conducted in the worker community in the 1950's, the 1960's and the past decade have always confirmed the appearance in worker awareness of a couple of values that are deeply preserved in it. The most important of these has always been the idea of social justice. Those studying the worker community said that it was particularly sensitive to social justice in the direction of far-reaching egalitarianism. Because of these considerations, the criticism of reality always pertained to the state of the achievement of the idea of social justice. Most frequently, breaks with socialism were identified with the violation of this idea, and the lack of its achievement. This problem remained at the top of the list of worker proposals and demands during the August protest movement. It could be recognized without contradiction as one of the main criteria of the extent of agreement between socialist guidelines and reality. Thus, it must be said that the working class will accept only that kind of national agreement with a program that expresses willingness to achieve the principles of social justice, and reality as experienced daily will empirically confirm it.

The image of a good society that is fixed in the awareness of workers is based on the following principles: social justice, democracy and the dignity of work. Democracy pertains not only to participation in governing and administration but also to freedom, including the right to voice various opinions--in a work, freedom of the individual.

Objective conformity, and at the same time the real drama of the working class, is based on the fact that a massive claims movement has always appeared in crisis situations when the capabilities of the economy did not permit the fulfillment of such claims. At the same time, demands have been moving into the area of social and political proposals and have been acquiring a general character. The first of these facts resulted from an obvious disregard of worker aspirations during periods of economic prosperity, and achieving a social policy model that is strikingly at odds with worker proposals of social justice. The second was the result of the working class becoming aware of the fact that social solutions are impossible without sweeping political solutions.

I believe that because it was impossible to fulfill worker aspirations with respect to living conditions in 1980-81 and is currently impossible to do so, it becomes that much more necessary to satisfy the sociopolitical aspirations. Failure to consider them could give rise to indifference, apathy, discouragement and the growth of material demands impossible of fulfillment.

10433

CSO: 2600/622

## REPORT ON THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COUNCILS CHAIRMEN

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part III No 17, 21 Feb 83 pp 1-3

[Text] On Thursday, 17 February 1983, the National Conference of Chairmen of People's Councils, a significant event in the political life of our country, opened in Bucharest in the presence of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Romanian Socialist Republic.

The convocation of this large and representative forum, established on the initiative of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, goes down as a new and significant force in the widespread process of deepening socialist democracy in Romania, pointing out the important role which belongs to the people's councils--a powerful political and organizational force in our state structure--in ensuring the effective participation of all citizens, regardless of their nationality, in the direction of all social and economic activities in the counties, cities and communes and in mobilizing the masses to achieve the splendid tasks established by the 12th Congress and the National Conference of the party, and of the illustrious program of building socialism and communism in our country.

Participating in the conference were the chairmen of the county, municipal, city and communal people's councils, first vice chairmen of the executive committees of the counties' people's councils and that of the capital, vice chairmen of the committees and executive bureaus which are responsible for cultural-educational activities and other representatives of the local organs of state government and administration.

Also participating as guests were members of the CC of the RCP, of the Council of State and of the government, leaders of central institutes, and mass and public organizations, state and party activists and personalities from the scientific and cultural communities.

Upon his arrival, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu was greeted with much warmth, cheers and ovations. Thousands of Bucharest residents in the square in front of the Palace of Sports and Culture where the conference was held, cheered the beloved leader of our party and state at length.

The secretary general of the party was greeted with the same fervor by the participants in the conference.

The anthem of the Socialist Republic of Romania was sung.

Gheorghe Oprea, member of the Political Executive Committee of the CC of the RCP and first deputy prime minister opened the conference. The conference presidium was then elected. In the presidium were: Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, Comrade Elena Ceausescu, Comrades Iosif Banc, Emil Bobu, Virgil Cazacu, Lina Ciobanu, Nicolae Constantin, Ion Dinca, Ludovic Fazekas, Alexandrina Gainuse, Petre Lupu, Paul Niculescu, Gheorghe Oprea, Gheorghe Pana, Ion Patan, Dumitru Popescu, Gheorghe Radulescu, Ilie Verdet, Stefan Voitec, Stefan Andrei, Leonard Constantin, Miu Dobrescu, Marin Enache, Petru Enache, Mihai Gere, Nicolae Giosan, Suzana Gadea, Stefan Mocuta, Ana Muresan, Elena Nae, Constantin Olteanu, Ion Stoian, Iosif Szasz, Ioan Ursu, Richard Winter, Gheorghe Stoica secretary of the CC of the RCP; Manea Manescu, vice president of the Council of State; Ion M. Nicolae, Gheorghe Petrescu, Ioan Totu, deputy prime minister of the government. The following chairmen also presided: Pavel Aron, of the people's council of Arad county; Haralambie Alexa, of the people's council Botosani county; Emilia Andrunache, of the people's council, Tecuci municipality, Galati county; Radu Balan, of the people's council of Hunedoara county; Ioan Bogdan Baluta, of the people's council Bacau county; Vasile Barbulet, of the people's council Sibiu county; Dumitru Bejan, of the people's council Calarasi county; Paraschiv Bebescu, of the people's council Galati county; Rodica Bogdan, of the people's council Azuga city, Prahova county; Nicolae Busui, of the people's council Caras-Severin county; Ion Catrinescu, of the people's council Braila county; Nicu Ceausescu, secretary of the CC of the Union of Communist Youth; Ilie Cisu, of the people's council Gorj county; Maria Coca, of the people's council Barbatesti, Vilcea county; Teodor Coman, of the people's council Vilcea county; Paraschiva Costea, president of the people's council Sacele city, Brasov county; Constantin Crisan, of the people's council of Cluj-Napoca municipality; Maria Dascalu, of the people's council Vadu Moldovei commune, Suceava county; Cornelia Dumbravan of the people's council Ineu city, Arad county; Ioan Foris, of the people's council Satu Mare county; Ion Fratila, of the people's council Vaslui county; Pantelimon Gavanescu, first secretary of the CC of the Union of Communist Youth; Maria Ghitulica, of the people's council Vrancea county; Traian Girba, of the people's council Suceava county; Grigorina Hapalet, of the people's council Dolhesti commune, Iasi county; Ana Herman, of the people's council of Sighisoara municipality, Mures county; Nicolae Hurbean, of the people's council, Alba county; Letitia Ionas, of the people's council Salaj county; Irina Lorincz, of the people's council Atid commune, Harghita county; Gheorghe Manta, of the people's council Neamt county; Virgil Marcosan, of the people's council Mehedinti county; Mihai Mariana, of the people's council Bistrita-Nasaud county; Marin Marinica, of the people's council Petresti commune, Dimbovita county; Sofia Maxim, of the people's council Simian commune, Mehedinti county; Maria Medrea, of the people's council Hateg city, Hunedoara county; Vasile Musat, of the people's council Giurgiu county; Constantin Neacsu, of the people's council Scornicesti commune, Olt county; Nicolae Oprea, of the people's council Caransebes city, Caras-Severin county; Cornel Pacoste, of the people's council Timis county; Lili Sudu Pecas, of the people's council Buhusi city, Bacau county; Iulian Plostinaru, of the Committee for the Problems of People's Councils; Barbu Popescu, of the people's council Tulcea county; Paraschiva Popescu, of the



people's council Grivita commune, Ialomita county; Stefan Rab, of the people's council Covasna county; Ion Radu, of the people's council Dolj county; Raveca Ratiu, of the people's council Cimpeni city, Alba county; Florea Ristache, of the people's council Dimbovita county; Teofor Roman, of the people's council Teleorman county; Gheorghita Segirceanu, of the people's council Desa commune, Dolj county; Marioara Siminiuc, of the people's council Giarmata commune, Timis county; Ion Sirbu, of the people's council Arges county; Magdalena Suto, of the people's council Covasna city; Frusina Tasmau, of the people's council, sector 4, Bucharest; Gheorghe Tanase, of the people's council Ialomita county; Laurean Tulai, of the people's council Bihor county; George Vaida, of the people's council Maramures county; Carolica Vasile, of the people's council Buzau county; Nicolae Veres, of the people's council Mures; Maria Vlad, of the people's council Salistea de Sus commune, Maramures county; Ana Wegmeth, of the people's council Apoldu de Jos commune, Sibiu county and Andrei Weingartner, of the people's council Bistrita municipality, Bistrita-Nasaud county.

Other working groups were then elected as were the make-up of the Secretariat and editorial commission for the draft resolution of the conference.

The participants unanimously approved the following agenda:

1. Report regarding the manner in which the people's councils are working to fulfill the unitary national plan for the socio-economic development of the Socialist Republic of Romania, on a regional basis for the period 1981 to 1985, and the measures necessary to increase their responsibilities in fully meeting the tasks of the plan.
2. Regarding the activities carried out and the results obtained by the people's councils in agriculture in 1982, measures which must be taken in light of the decisions adopted by the National Party Conference and of the special programs adopted in agriculture to meet, in an exemplary way, all of the tasks of the plan on a regional basis.
3. The people's councils tasks in carrying out the special programs adopted by the National Party Conference in December 1982, regarding the additional reduction in the consumption of raw materials, materials, fuels and energy as well as the recovery and use of recyclable material, used parts and sub-assemblies and secondary energy resources in 1983.
4. The measures which must be taken by the people's councils to carry out the program of regional self-direction and self-provisioning and the duties for the period 1983 to 1985 which were adopted by the National Party Conference in December 1982; the tasks given the people's councils to ensure that every bit of land is used, that every farm household raises a number of animals and fowl and that all the councils' obligations to the centralized state stock of agricultural products are fully realized.
5. Regarding the implementation of the regional and local program of urbanization and organization and the implementation of the housing construction plan for the first 2 years of the 5 year plan; the measures needed to put

into use all the apartments called for in the present 5 year plan as well as for the maintenance and beautification of all localities.

6. Regarding the activity carried out by the people's councils to complete coordination of small industry, to organize production units, to efficiently use material resources and local work forces and to satisfy the demands of the people.

7. Regarding the manner in which the people's councils ensure the organization and performance of cultural-educational activities and the development of the material base to continuously raise the people's level of socialist awareness.

8. Regarding the improvement of the activities and workstyle of the people's councils, the development of socialist democracy to ensure the participation of the deputies, the permanent commissions and of all citizens in the local debate and resolution of state and public needs and the application of party decisions and state laws.

Also approved were the 12 conference work sections, grouped by counties, the presidiums of these sections, as well as the rules for carrying out the work of the conference.

As part of the agenda, Comrade Emil Bobu, member of the political executive committee and secretary of the CC of the RCP, presented the report on the activities and duties of the people's councils in implementing the decisions of the 12th Congress and the National Party Conference.

Plenary debate then followed.

In the afternoon, the 12 working sections based on groupings of counties, performed the work of the conference.

Friday, 18 February 1983, the work of the National Conference of the Chairmen of the People's Councils continued in the capital.

In the morning, the plenary debates resumed and then very carefully and responsibly examined aspects of the activities through which the local organs of state government and administration carry out the important tasks of fulfilling the objectives established by the 12th Congress, the National Party Conference and the Second Congress of People's Councils, to construct a fully developed socialist society in Romania.

In the afternoon, work was carried out in the 12 county work sections.

In the spirit of communist exigency and profound responsibility which characterized all of the work of the congress up to that point, the participants in the debates emphasized the rectitude of our party and state's policy in the full development of the country and the uninterrupted improvement in the well-being of our people. They expressed their appreciation for the essential, determining role of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in formulating and

carrying out a policy of a balanced, equitable and sustained development of all counties, in the improvement and deepening of democratic socialism, and for the concern which the secretary general of the party and president of the republic has shown for national progress and for the growth of socialist Romania's international prestige.

In the capital on Saturday, 19 February 1983, in the presence of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the work of the National Conference of the Chairmen of the People's Councils came to a conclusion.

The thousands of participants once again greeted Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu with unrestrained affection and regard and with lively applause, cheers and ovations.

Comrade Elena Ceausescu and the other comrades in state and party leadership arrived with Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and received a particularly warm reception.

On the final day, the work was again taken up in full session and the debates on the important problems listed in the agenda were continued.

The conference was informed that in the plenary debates and in those of the 12 sections grouped by county, 801 comrades spoke, representing the counties and all categories of first level administrative and territorial organs. The presidium, determining that in the 3 days of debate, there had been an in-depth examination of all the problems listed in the agenda as well as of the important tasks which devolved on the party organs and organizations and on the people's councils from the decisions of the 12th Congress and the National Party Conference regarding the continued improvement of regional socio-economic and political-administrative activities, proposed that the discussions be terminated.

After approving this, the participants unanimously adopted the eight documents inscribed in the agenda. The Resolution of the National Conference of the Chairmen of the People's Councils was also unanimously adopted.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, who was received with profound enthusiasm, spoke at the closing of the conference.

The leader of our party and state's speech was followed with particular interest, with complete satisfaction and approval and was punctuated with lively and repeated applause, cheers and ovations.

The anthem of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front was sung, "Union is written on the Tricolor!"

The tight, indestructible unity of the nation around the party and its secretary general found new expression in the emotional outpouring which thousands of Bucharest residents, present in front of the Palace of Sports and Culture, demonstrated to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu as he left the hall.

12280

CSO: 2700/172

## TADIC, NEO-LEFTISTS ATTACKED FOR QUESTIONING LEGITIMACY OF LCY

[Editorial Report] In a two-part article in BORBA (Belgrade, 9-10 Apr 83 p 2, 11 Apr 83 p 3) Fuad Muhic attacks Ljubomir Tadic "and the circle around him for questioning the legitimacy of the LCY, i.e., for asking "whether the LCY position is founded on an accord between the people and the working class or on the simple usurping of power which the LCY, as an ossified and outdated organization of the Bolshevik type, maintains through a monopoly of state force."

Muhic says this bringing of 17th and 18th century principles of Enlightenment and Natural Law into practical politics arose about 10 years ago during discussions on the Constitutional amendments when it was asked that "the right of people to revolt against regimes be legitimized in the new Constitution."

In a recent discussion with Tadic and his followers in the editorial offices of the Belgrade philosophical journal THEORIA, Muhic said the view was expressed by one of Tadic's followers that the LCY had unfortunately failed to "legitimize" itself by any democratic-representative-electoral procedure." This "leftist" demand, Muhic noted, is the same as that of the "radical rightists like Djilas," who urge "the introduction of a multi-party system in Yugoslavia." And Muhic quotes a statement by Branko Horvat, who, after discussing the nationality and other divisive problems that would increase if different group interests were permitted to be organized in Yugoslavia, says, "For these reasons a multi-party system is obviously not a desirable alternative. A one-party system is also not [desirable]. What remains is no-party." A footnote to this quotes Djilas's description in a mid-1980 issue of SPIEGEL of what Croatian, Serbian, and Muslim parties would be like in such a system.

"Tadic thinks," Muhic says, "that Yugoslav society is nearing a culmination point in the conflict between the will to power of the ruling party group and the longing of society for the natural rights of man, for political rights and freedoms...."

"Legality [Tadic thinks] is on the side of the LCY as the party in power, but legitimacy is on the side of the working class and working people as the historical subject which is trying to express its yearnings through self-management.... We as communists [he says] drove Stalin from his throne but we have kept him in our hearts."



Tadic also negates the principle of national sovereignty in the constituting of the Yugoslav republics and provinces and one-sidedly identifies it with alien processes (which are, in fact, present in our society), says Muhic, and "he comes to the conclusion that anti-democratic decentralization and a kind of re-feudalization of the political system are being carried out here."

[Tadic's views on this were criticized also in the 12-13 March issue of BORBA (see JPRS Political Translations on Eastern Europe, No 83300, 20 Apr 83, p 131).]

"His general conclusion is that the LCY has not drawn all the lessons from the historical conflict of 1948, including also the lesson of Goli Otok, but rather has remained (with some modifications) devoted to the Bolshevik tradition and to Bolshevism's critics of political democracy.

"Tadic is not the first nor will he be the last Marxist who has withdrawn... from the movement and sought shelter in some other orientation. Just as Cosmice turned to national mythology, he [Tadic] has found new inspiration in the philosophy of natural law."

CSO: 2800/272

END

**END OF**

**FICHE**

**DATE FILMED**

**MAY 23, 1983**